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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 3, JUL-AUG-SEP 1986

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19 MARCH 1987

USSR REPORT  
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS  
SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 1986

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE  
ISSLEDOVANIYA published quarterly in Moscow by the Institute of  
Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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## SOCIALIST JUSTICE

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[Article by Mikhail Nikolayevich Rutkevich, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, head of the department of Marxism-Leninism, USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy; author of the monographs "Sotsialnyye Peremeshcheniya" [Social Shifts] (coauthored, 1970); "Intelligentsia v Razvitiy Sotsialisticheskoy Obshchestve" [The Intelligentsia in the Developed Socialist Society] (1977); "Dialektika i Sotsiologiya" [Dialectics and Sociology] (1980); "Stanovleniye Sotsialnoy Odnorodnosti" [Establishment of Social Homogeneity] (1982) and others. Permanent contributor to this journal]

[Text] The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress paid prime attention to the problem of social justice under socialist conditions and the ways of its systematic implementation at the present sharp turn. As the new draft of the CPSU program stipulates, "the increasing implementation of the principle of social justice in all realms of social relations is considered by the party as one of the basic tenets of social policy" (5, p 151).

The human concept of justice and its opposite--injustice--developed as early as primitive society, above all as social feelings and emotions which, subsequently, were extended and codified conceptually. In the ordinary mind, concepts of justice were most closely related to concepts of equality. However, they did not coincide with scientific definitions formulated on their basis. In the course of time the correlation between the concepts of equality and justice changed.

In primitive society the idea of "just retribution" existed as a requirement of members of other tribes to compensate for the harm caused to a member of the tribe and thus to the tribe as whole. The class differentiation in society and the appearance of the state and law separated the concepts of equality and justice in the ideology of the ruling and the oppressed classes. In the slave-owning society the killing of a slave by his owner was subject neither to legal punishment nor moral condemnation. In the early feudal society in Europe, "retribution" equality yielded to a precisely measured inequality: monetary compensation for murder fluctuated depending on the social status of the victim. The appearance and consolidation of primitive



Christianity as the religion of the oppressed was inseparable from the ideas of equality in sinning against God, which imbued it, although the function of meting out justice was ascribed to heaven.

Hundreds and thousands of years of development of civilization were needed for the bourgeois revolution to inscribe on its banner the slogan of equality as the embodiment of an abstractly understood justice. In fact, a crying inequality prevailed in matter of the legal and political equality of the citizens of a bourgeois state. Contemporary capitalism, which hides behind statements of "equal opportunity" and competition as the only just order of things, has brought social inequality to an extreme, for the proletariat is deprived of any ownership of labor tools, while the monopoly bourgeoisie has concentrated tremendous wealth in its hands.

The proletarian concept of justice is based on the elimination of the private ownership of means of production. Marxist theory has expressed this scientifically, as a requirement for socioeconomic equality and corresponding exercise of social justice. In the course of the struggle against vulgar communist theories and open slander by bourgeois ideologues, the founders of Marxism repeatedly explained that the proletarian requirement of equality and justice in distribution does not mean in the least that people will be standardized. Equality under socialism, and even more so under communism, presumes the blossoming of the individual and of the most comprehensive capabilities and talents. According to Engels, "the real content of the proletarian requirement of equality is reduced to the elimination of classes. Any demand for equality which goes beyond it inevitably leads to stupidity" (1). V.I. Lenin noted that by equality under communism, Marxism means "equality of social status and in no way equality in the physical and spiritual capabilities of individuals" (3).

The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress especially dealt with this problem: "Unity within socialist society does not mean in the least the equalization of social life. Socialism develops the entire variety of interests, needs and capabilities of the people. It actively supports the activities of social organizations expressing this variety" (5, p 51).

Justice and equality under the conditions of a communist system must be understood as historically developing concepts in theory and in the awareness of the masses. K. Marx predicted that at the first phase in its development, i.e., under socialism, the new society will be able to implement the proletarian ideal of equality and, therefore, justice, only to a limited extent: equality in terms of the means of production without, however, being able to ensure at that point the application of the same principle in consumption: "the individual producer will receive from society, after all withholdings, exactly what he has contributed to it" (2, p 18). By "withholdings" Marx meant withholding means for the further development of production, taking care of the sick and the disabled, administrative expenditures, etc. If people are not equal in terms of their ability to work, the real implementation of this ability and the structure of their families, equality under socialist conditions also involves inequality.



Socialism not only establishes real legal and political equality of citizens, regardless of race, nationality, sex or religion, but also takes a decisive step in establishing the socioeconomic equality among all members of society, for it eliminates the exploiting classes and the oppression of man by man in all its aspects.

It was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress that "a new way of life has appeared, based on the principles of socialist justice" (5, p 7). Here and in other congress documents it is a question not of social justice in general, abstractly, but of a social justice consistent with the ideals of socialism and the possibilities of Soviet society at its present level of development.

As the first phase of communist society, socialism cannot provide social justice in its full extent in the area of distribution, for at the given level of development of production forces it must distribute the produced goods essentially according to labor, depending on its quantity and quality, conditions, extent of the worker's responsibility to society, natural and climatic habitat, etc. Therefore, during the first phase of communism as well equality and justice do not fully coincide. In Soviet society, which is presently at the initial stage of developed socialism, we must distinguish among the existing forms of inequality those which are consistent with the principles of socialism and, therefore, are accepted by the majority of working people as just under the given set of circumstances, and those which do not coincide with these principles and, therefore, are considered unfair.

The introduction of the concepts of "fair" and "unfair" in the description of social relations under socialism is exceptionally important not only theoretically but also practically in the area of communist upbringing and management decision making. Such concepts and the emotional concept of justice on which they are based, are as historical and class-oriented as the demand for equality. They formulate the moral and legal concept of what is consistent and what is inconsistent with the laws and standards of right and the social morality which dominates the society, and what deserves moral recognition and what does not.

Subsequent to Marx, in his "State and Revolution," Lenin thoroughly analyzed the differences between the two phases of the future society. In applying, as though comparing socialism against the ideal of communism in its full extent, Lenin expressed a view which, looked at superficially, could seem paradoxical: "consequently, justice and equality cannot be provided during the first phase of communism" (4). Occasionally, this familiar statement is erroneously interpreted by those who are unable or unwilling to understand the historical nature of social justice. Like some other of Lenin's statements, this one should in no case be cited out of context and interpreted in the sense that under socialism there can be neither justice nor equality.

We must distinguish between equality and justice at the different stages of the new society. Lenin explained his definition as follows: "Marx described the course of development of communist society, which must initially destroy only the 'injustice' of the means of production being owned by individuals, and which it is unable to eliminate immediately and subsequently injustice, which consists of the distribution of consumer objects 'according to work'

(and not according to needs)" (4). Lenin considers distribution according to labor and the consequent inequality in consumption as unfair from the positions of the future, of total communism. However, from the viewpoint of the socialist ideal, an equal attitude toward the means of production and obtaining goods "according to work" must be accepted both theoretically and by the overwhelming majority of working people as just. In this case we must take into consideration that distribution according to labor is substantially expanded through the social consumption funds (OFP): currently such funds account for about one third of obtained goods and services. "They play," M.S. Gorbachev has pointed out, "an important role in ensuring equal access by the members of society to education and culture, equalization of conditions for the education of the children and facilitating the life of those who, for one reason or another, need temporary or permanent assistance" (5, p 46).

Socialism greatly eliminates inequality in the distribution of benefits through free education and medical services, providing housing with minimal rent, etc. However, it is unable totally to eliminate inequality in living conditions. The formula "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work" links distribution with the extent of equality existing under socialism in the development of these capabilities and in the acquisition of knowledge and professional skills and, therefore, in assuming a place within the system of the social division of labor in which the possibilities of the individual are used in the best possible manner in the interest of society.

Under contemporary conditions, socialism cannot ensure total equality in the education of children and, therefore, access by the growing generation to professions and types of employment requiring the highest possible training. We have already had to deal with this problem in connection with the socioprofessional guidance of young people and competitions for enrollment in higher schools (6). Capable and even talented people may be found everywhere. Their development, however, particularly at an early age, requires certain conditions. Inequality in the material and cultural status of families, social groups and residents of different settlements unquestionably affects the degree of the mental and physical development of young people entering life. Therefore, wherever competition becomes necessary, the chances of the competitors become unequal. Such is the case in efforts to enroll in prestigious VUZs (although for many of them competition has virtually disappeared), in assuming jobs after training and in the course of job promotions. Under such circumstances, what is just or unjust?

According to some authors, this inequality of chances in starting a labor career is totally unfair. In our view, this view is one-sided. Total equality in the detection of capabilities can be ensured only with equality in living conditions, i.e., on the basis of distribution according to need. However, it is impossible to honor in the first phase of the communist society the demand of a justice which can be attained during its second phase. With the help of the OFP and special benefits, society takes steps which reduce inequality in developing cadres of future specialists with higher education. In reality, however, not only in enrollment in VUZs but also in the promotion of candidates to higher positions, for example, we must proceed on the basis of the actual readiness of a person to perform a given function.

Therefore, a contradiction exists between the present needs of society for the efficient utilization of available human potential (regardless of the conditions under which it is developed) and long-range needs, which require the total identification of the capabilities and talents of every member of society. The acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development is a necessary prerequisite for the comprehensive development of the generations entering life. While giving preference to the best trained among them, society ensures their accelerated development and thereby "the equalization of chances" in the future. The use of social inequality as a lever of progress toward increasing social equality is the very general law of development of socialism, which operates in the implementation of the principle of payment according to labor, depending on its quantity and quality, and in the implementation of the first part of this formula: "from each according to his capabilities." Consequently, from the standpoint of society and its future interests, we must consider fair the existence of a certain inequality in distribution according to labor and inequality in the exercise of the right not to work in general but to perform the type of work consistent with the already detected and developed capabilities. Naturally, those who are placed by life under worse circumstances and have failed in the competition would consider this unfair. The disparity between individual assessment, emotional in particular, and those of society is eliminated through upbringing and through the acknowledgment of the priority of the latter. However, what is truly unfair is when personal, family, nepotism, clannishness and other "principles," which were unreservedly condemned at the 27th Party Congress, are used to secure enrollment in a VUZ, obtaining a job or securing a promotion.

The first part of the formula--"according to capabilities"--is inseparably related to the second part--"according to labor." The concept of the justice of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor invested by the worker in the public economy and the unfairness of any violation of this law in practice has been firmly established in the minds of the Soviet people. It is a question, above all, of the size of wages earned by labor collectives, social and professional groups and individuals. As we know, the economic mechanism which has been established in the country in a number of cases not only does not hinder but even contributes to the violation of the principle of payment according to labor. Thus, poorly working enterprises, whose management has been able to amend the plan at the proper time (or else submit a fictitious report by padding the figures) can give its personnel higher wages and bonuses than collectives engaged in the implementation of stressed plans and producing high quality goods. "The size of the enterprise wage fund," M.S. Gorbachev said at the 27th Party Congress, "must be directly related to income from the sale of its output. This will enable us to eliminate the production and procurements of unnecessary and substandard goods and to work, as they say, for the warehouse. Incidentally, the same type of approach must be applied not only in light industry. We can no longer tolerate the fact that workers of enterprises producing unsuitable goods live without any particular concern, receiving their full salary, bonuses and other benefits" (5, p 36).

Similarly, a poorly working kolkhoz or sovkhos can pay higher wages than better farms by receiving state budget subsidies or Gosbank loans (which are



frequently not repaid), and even outstrip the better kolkhozes in industrial and social construction. The establishment of the USSR Gosagroprom and the application of total cost accounting in agriculture and its servicing sectors should put an end to such unsuitable practices. All too frequently working people of identical professional and skill categories employed in different sectors earn very different wages. Within a single collective even, both good and mediocre personnel--workers, technicians, engineers, teachers, or physicians--are paid equal wages as a rule. Some disproportions also exist in the wages of socioprofessional groups. Thus, for example, in construction the average wage of a worker is higher than that of a specialist whose training has been much more costly to the state. In 1940 the wage correlation was 221:100 (in favor of the ITR); it was 98:100 in 1984 (7, p 418).

According to the 1984 reform, the wages of teachers and kindergarten educators will be increased and the rates of some categories of medical and engineering personnel have already been raised. However, the wages of some of the members of the intelligentsia, such as junior scientific associates in scientific research institutes, cultural and educational workers and others, are still below the national economic average. Steps to correct this situation will be taken during the 12th 5-year period.

Perfecting the wage system today is considered in close relation with the concept of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and the increasingly accurate determination of the contribution made by each collective, group or worker in upgrading labor productivity and improving cultural, medical and consumer services. We know that considerable difficulties must be surmounted in this case. The use of the brigade contracting order, based on cost accounting, initiated on the level of the primary labor collective, is encountering major obstacles in industry, construction and agriculture. The brigade contracting order is frequently included in accountability reports although the collectives set up on the new basis have already been dismantled. This is due to the fact that the application of real cost accounting on the lower level of organization clashes with the production organization on the higher levels and with the interests of many conservative managers who have become accustomed to the old method and are unable to provide the cost accounting brigade with normal working conditions. "The party deems necessary," the CPSU program emphasizes, "the further development and increased efficiency of cost accounting and the systematic conversion of enterprises and associations to total cost accounting..." (5, p 149).

The experiment conducted at the AvtoVAZ and the Sumy Machine Building Association imeni M.V. Frunze, where self-recovery and self-financing have been applied with a fixed percentage of profits left at the disposal of the enterprises for the 5-year period, is a quite important and promising from the viewpoint of the practical implementation of the principle of social justice. Wage differentiation inevitably increases with cost accounting. However, it does not contradict--the opinion of some of our philosophers and sociologists notwithstanding--the principle of socialist justice. Increasing the wage rates and salaries in material production by an average of 25-30 percent during the 12th 5-year period will not be based on the old system. N.I. Ryzhkov has pointed out that "the funds necessary to this effect now must be

mostly earned by the labor collectives through increased output and efficiency, mobilization of internal reserves and improved labor organization and norming" (5, p 259).

As we pointed out, social justice under socialism does not end with the implementation of the principle of wages based on labor. Socialism guarantees to all citizens real rights: the right to housing, education, medical services, access to cultural values, social insurance against illness, disability and old age, etc. A decisive role in the solution of this problem is played by the social consumption funds. As we know, approximately one half of benefits and payments go to social insurance (temporary disability, pensions, etc.) and are more or less directly dependent on the person's labor contribution. The other half of these assets are allocated regardless of the labor contribution of the working person and perform the social function of somewhat easing consumption inequalities internally inherent in socialism. Today payments and benefits from the OFP account for 24.3 percent of the income of the families of workers and employees and 19.2 percent of the kolkhoz family income; the increase in such payments on a per capita basis over the next 15 years will be faster than the growth of wages (7, pp 432-434). By contributing to the easing of social inequality, the social consumption funds are the material foundation for constitutional guarantees of the rights of individuals, thus meeting the requirements of social justice. However, we must also see in this phenomenon aspects which contradict the socialist ideal of justice. The fact that such benefits are equally granted to the honest worker and to the obvious loafer or else are pilfered has been legitimately condemned by public opinion. The idea of the need to combine a socially guaranteed minimum of free or low-cost goods and services, based on OFP, with a more extensive use of paid goods and services, has been repeatedly raised in economic and sociological publications (including by the author of these lines). We consider the introduction of differentiated rental for housing, based on its comfort, ecological environment and location within the city proper. We believe that broadening the network of cost accounting polyclinics and cooperative construction, paying for intracity telephone calls, charging fees for to hobby circle and club membership and for the use of cultural institutions and sports facilities would streamline the use of social funds and will contribute to the observance of the principle of social justice.

In our view, the question of the admissible scale of differences in social consumption funds per family and per working person, depending on the department and the enterprise, should be particularly condemned. On the one hand, the level of satisfaction of social needs from social funds at large and small enterprises and in material production and services shows great disparities, which is reflected on finding manpower for sectors such as education, health care, cultural and educational work, the financial area, etc. On the other hand, the forthcoming conversion of enterprises to total cost accounting, particularly with self-financing, will mean a justified and just inequality among the possibilities of labor collectives to meet the social needs of their members: housing, kindergartens, Pioneer camps, rest homes and prophylactic establishments, medical institutions, etc. Here a certain contradiction exists in the solution of which the local soviets, as the state authorities in a given territory, must play the most important role.



Phenomena related to individual labor activities are of particular concern to public opinion. In our view, this problem cannot be approached one-sidedly. One of the forms of such activities is work in the private auxiliary plot (LPKh), in which approximately 35 million families are engaged. This form of family labor is closely related to work in the public farm. In granting plots for private use, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses actively help their owners by plowing the land for garden crops and by selling them fodder and young cattle, assigning them pastures and hay mowing areas and contributing to the marketing of the surplus produce. Increasingly, the private plot is becoming an "auxiliary shop" of the public farm, although it calls for individual (family) labor.

Such plots are justifiably known as private and auxiliary, for essentially they are cultivated by the members of families engaged in public production and with the participation of the retired and the adolescents. The average annual number of people employed in the LPKh was 4.1 million in 1984 (7, p 326). Only about 500,000 of them were people of active age, primarily women, who considered work in their auxiliary farm their main occupation (8). The importance of the LPKh is clearly confirmed by the fact that they account for approximately 25 percent of the country's entire agricultural output. They supply 11 percent of the commodity output (13 percent meat, 38 percent potatoes, 14 percent vegetables, etc.) (7, p 234). The market accounts for 32 percent of potatoes, 4 percent of vegetables and 47 percent of fruits of the overall volume of purchases by the RSFSR population (9). Twenty-five percent of the income of kolkhoz families comes from LPKh, which also accounts for a high share of the income of families of sovkhos workers, other rural residents and the population of small cities and town suburbs.

Therefore, the LPKh are a major help in food production. The party's policy is directed toward the comprehensive support of these "backyards," and toward increasing the help they receive from kolkhozes, sovkhoses, local soviets, consumer cooperatives and procurement agencies, which must efficiently purchase produce surpluses and concern themselves with their transportation, handling and sale.

However, the positive assessment of this type of work, which is necessary at the present state of production forces in the country's agriculture, should not conceal some negative phenomena which it sometimes triggers. The press has cited numerous cases proving that some private plot owners concentrate primarily on the production of commodities they sell on the market (the kolkhoz market, as it is traditionally known, although for the time being, it is rarely used by the kolkhozes), where occasionally surplus is sold at prices incompatible with real labor outlays. We must also take into consideration that the differential of payments for lots located in particularly favorable soil and weather conditions and those located in the vicinity of large cities and resort areas ends into the pockets of the owners. In some cases, such people are listed as members of kolkhozes, sovkhoses, rural establishments and enterprises pro forma only, whereas they essentially engage in supplying the city markets with fresh vegetables, early produce, fruits, flowers, seeds and other goods which, for one reason or another, are in short supply in the state and cooperative stores. As a rule, flowers and early vegetables are grown in greenhouses at a very modest cost, for their owners pay for the water and

power at state prices. The private cattle and poultry are fed grain and groats bought at a low price. For example, about 2,000 able-bodied people are not employed in the public farms in Kushchevskiy Rayon, Krasnodar Kray. At the Krasnoye Sovkhoz, in that same rayon, every year 282 families grow for sale 400,000 rose bushes (9). Although surpluses produced through individual labor are sold, they are sold at speculative prices and are a negative phenomenon which violates the interests of the customers and society and the principles of social justice.

The disparity between moral and legal standards in this matter should be scientifically studied. Unless resale cases have been proven, the law enforcement authorities cannot charge sellers with administrative, not to mention criminal, liability, regardless of the prices at which they may be marketing their goods. That is why a very strange term has become popular in our legal publications: "legitimate unearned income."

This applies to an even greater extent to individual labor activities in their "pure" aspects, unrelated to the public farm, such as LPKh work, in the artisan industry, for example, and, particularly, in services, where items for sale and services rendered by private individuals entirely belong to the area of the so-called unorganized redistribution of income. A prerequisite for the blossoming of private entrepreneurs is the insufficient development of the state area of services and deeply rooted phenomena within it, such as bureaucratism, violation of the terms for meeting orders, arbitrary price setting, rudeness and, sometimes, boorishness, extortion of customers, etc.

Although according to a number of economists the income of such private dealers in the area of services is comparable in terms of scale with the turnover of state establishments (excluding from this total services provided to organizations), a one-sided evaluation of this phenomenon would be a simplification of the actual situation. The private entrepreneurs meet some social needs by filling the gaps in services offered to the population by the state. In frequent cases private services are paid in accordance with labor outlays, particularly if provided by highly skilled specialists. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the fact that, as a result of weakened control, "legitimate unearned income" has blossomed in this area, by charging excessive fees to the customers. In that sense, the moral assessment of injustice in distribution coincides with the legal one. Indeed, the services under consideration are frequently rendered during working time and, also frequently with means of production belonging to the state, such as trucks and passenger cars, cranes and bulldozers, and construction materials and spare parts either pilfered or purchased on the black market.

The use of unearned income from private activities calls for improving the taxation policy, as was pointed out at the 27th Party Congress. "However, while blocking unearned income," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "we must not allow any aspersions to be cast on those who obtain additional income through honest toil. Furthermore, the state will contribute to the development of various forms of meeting population demand and providing services. We must attentively consider proposals on streamlining individual-labor activities. Naturally, such types of work must be fully consistent with the principles of

socialist economic management and based either on cooperative principles or on contracts with socialist enterprises" (5, p 47).

"Illegal unearned income" is a phenomenon the very essence of which conflicts with the foundations of our society and the demands of socialist justice. Such income is obtained by members of clearly defined groups which act as parasites on the social body: speculators on the food and commodity markets, who frequently engage in commission sales, and bribers of all sorts, ranging from a highly placed administrator, who demands a "reward" for giving someone a "suitable" position or allocating housing out of turn, to the sales clerk who extracts additional money for a scarce commodity or a waiter who demands a tip, thieves of public property, poachers, who plunder both society and nature, and parasites. The uncompromising struggle against such phenomena and their bearers requires, on the one hand, a substantial increase of control on the part of law enforcement and financial authorities and the public and stricter laws and, on the other, the creation of an atmosphere of intolerance toward speculators, moonlighters and under-the-counter dealers.

The party's course of comprehensive assertion of social justice was summed up in the final part of the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress. This was a course "toward greater and strict implementation of the principle of distribution of goods according to the quantity and quality of labor and perfecting social consumption funds; intensifying control over the measure of labor and consumption, decisively blocking unearned income and efforts to make use of public property for selfish purposes; eliminating unjustified disparities in material rewards for equal labor by workers in different sectors, eliminating equalization in wages, and so on" (5, p 95).

Soviet social science, which must make a profound study of the various areas of life in their interaction and development, plays an essential role in the implementation of the standards of socialist justice and in the struggle against phenomena which conflict with it. It must provide the management and mass information media authorities (and, therefore, the public) with timely and convincing information on the ways of implementing socialist justice and on its violations, whatever their origin, and on the state of public opinion on this most important matter. The social scientists must formulate practically significant and substantiated recommendations, which are so greatly needed in managing processes in the social area.

Unquestionably, this is a complex task which needs the combined efforts of social scientists in all areas. For example, problems of perfecting wages in the public economy on the basis of cost accounting, and reducing the area of "unorganized redistribution" demand, above all, profound economic studies.

It is a matter for the legal sciences to make corrections and supplements to the legislation, in the economic area above all, so that it may ensure the increased autonomy and responsibility of enterprise managers. In this case the science of sociology plays a special role. It must consider the problem as a whole, as a unity in all its aspects.

The specific nature of the sociological approach to all processes and phenomena of social life, including the problem of social justice, is



determined by the subject of historical materialism as the general or theoretical sociology of Marxism, as the science of the interconnection among all areas and aspects of social life and of the general laws of its historical development.

Indeed, since historical materialism studies all aspects of social life comprehensively, in their interconnection and dialectical interaction, this enables us to conceive of social justice under the conditions of our society in terms of the unity of its economic, legal, ideological and sociopsychological aspects. For as historical materialism considers social consciousness a reflection of social life, social justice must be considered on the basis of the really existing economic relations in our country and the extent to which they embody the ideals of socialism and identify the noncoincidence between the objective and subjective aspects of social justice under contemporary conditions. Since the perception of fairness and unfairness frequently differs not only among the individual members of society but among entire social strata and groups, the only guideline in the formulation of general assessments of social justice must be the long-range interests of the working class as the builder of socialism and communism.

The problem of social equality and justice and their reflection in the consciousness requires not only a class but a specific-historical approach. Today, at the stage of developed socialism, concepts and requirements relative to social justice are different from those prevailing in previous times such as, for example, in the necessary introduction of a rationing system or in terms of what they will be in 20 to 50 years, when the growth of social consumption funds will enable us to provide greater compensations for inequality in the material status of families, not to mention the situation during the second phase of communism, when the ideals of equality and justice can be implemented in full.

This general view of the problem of social justice under socialist conditions, considered from the viewpoint of general sociological theory, determines the specific nature of the approach also on the level of individual theories pertaining to the study of specific areas of social life (such as the labor collective, the family) or else specific types of human activities (labor, recreation, etc.). Finally, in specific sociological studies (which are not the same as specific social studies in any area of the social sciences), all manifestations of social justice and its reflection in the feelings and moods of the masses, can be determined most completely, taking economic, political, legal and moral aspects into consideration.

"The atmosphere of creativity which the party is asserting in all areas of life," M.S. Gorbachev said at the 27th Party Congress, "is particularly fruitful in the case of the social sciences. We hope that it will be actively used by our economists and philosophers, lawyers, sociologists, historians and literary workers in their daring and initiative-minded formulation of new problems and their creative theoretical elaboration" (5, p 85). The problem of social justice as well needs profound theoretical interpretation.

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## FAMILY STUDIES: THRESHOLD OF A NEW STAGE

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[Article by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Anatoliy Georgiyevich Kharchev, head of the department of social problems of the family, USSR Academy of Sciences ISI, chairman of the Central Scientific Research Section of Family Sociology, Soviet Sociological Association]

[Text] A strong family is one of the most important foundations of society. This obvious truth has not been obvious always and to everyone. Years of accumulation and study of experience in building socialism were needed in order to eliminate once and for all nihilistic views on the family and its role under socialism, against which V.I. Lenin himself had to fight.

Including sections on the family in the CPSU program and the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress is the most convincing proof of the fact that the family was and remains one of the most important factors in the advancement of socialist society and the proper upbringing of new generations of Soviet people. Upgrading the social potential of the family and its activeness in all realms of social life and strengthening marital-family relations on a new, socialist basis are tasks directly related to the implementation of the program for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the fuller utilization of the possibilities and reserves of the human factor. Their solution requires the further enhancement of the quality and effectiveness of the scientific studies of the family and the combined efforts of scientists dealing with this problem, and the creation of a reliable system for the application of scientific recommendations. The conversion to this more productive--scientifically and practically--stage of research in the area of family sociology requires the refining of a number of theoretical concepts of this science, for the remaining differences of views in their interpretation hinders the summation of data obtained by different researchers. One of them deals precisely with understanding the family and the laws governing its development under socialism.

Publications on the subject of the family, which as late as the 1950s were very few, have been systematically increasing over the past 15 years and become more varied in their genres. Bibliography covering that period, prepared by the Department of Social Problems of the Family of the USSR AN

ISI, lists more than 2,000 titles. A significant percentage of such works consider the family only as a social institution and, frequently, even as the "institution of the family." To what extent is such a formulation of the problem consistent with Marxist methodological tradition in this area?

In the works of the founders of Marxism the term family meant, above all, a social mechanism for the reproduction of the person, "the relationship between a husband and wife and between parents and children" (1, p 27), in one aspect or another legitimized by society (custom, morality, religion, law). Essentially, this is the broadest definition of the family which establishes merely the connection between marriage and the birth of children, regardless of the social forms through which this takes place. It reflects the specific features of the contemporary monogamous and the primitive "group" family, affiliation with which indicated less real relations than the separation of the people into marital classes and generations, outlining merely the limits of admissibility and likelihood of such relations. Such families, which did not include the social forms of unification, were reduced merely to relations of creating children, bringing to light the profound material-economic foundation from which, in the course of time, all other relations between spouses and between generations developed, refracted through production relations, the social structure, and the areas of social consciousness and culture. Therefore, reducing the family merely to these other relations separates it from its roots which give it the nature of a socially necessary phenomenon and which means not only simplifying the objective dialectics of the historical establishment of the family but also provides scope for arbitrary exercises concerning the place and role of the family in the present and the future.

However, the significance of Engels' analysis of the primitive family is not limited to this in terms of contemporary family studies (the study of marital-family relations not only by sociology but by other sciences also). It also means that Engels' study establishes the indirect manifestation of the biological mechanism for the reproduction of the species in relations between husbands and wives and brings to light the fundamental link of this indirect relationship: economic necessity. Correspondingly, the psychological aspects of such relations are not paralleled with the natural relations but include them as though "ready made." This circumstance should be particularly emphasized, considering that in many publications the intimate life of the people is considered independently of their sociopsychological life, simply as one of the material (alongside the economic) components of marriage and family. The simplicity of this interpretation, naturally, is disarming. However, it has serious methodological backing, for in terms of intimate relations, the individual acts not simply as a "bodily organization" but as a social being. In other words, even when the paradox that only man can be a real beast may find justification, nevertheless man acts as a social subject, as the product of the social environment or upbringing, rather than as a biological species. Should we adopt any other approach, we would merely find ourselves in the tail end of the theory of Kinsey, who, as we know, did a great deal of empirical studies of the sexual behavior of Americans but was not all that successful in interpreting the empirical facts he obtained.

A final and tested formulation of the place and role of the family as a material social relation was given by Engels in 1884. "According to the materialistic understanding," he wrote in the preface to the first edition of "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," the determining aspect in history is, in the final account, the direct production and reproduction of life. This, however, is of a double nature. On the one hand, it means the production of means of survival: food, clothing, housing and the necessary tools to obtain them; on the other, it means the production of man himself, the continuation of the species. The social order under which people live during a specific historical age and in a specific country are determined by both types of production: the level of development, which meant labor, on the one hand, and the family, on the other" (2, pp 25-26). In its time this concept was criticized as erroneous and inconsistently materialistic. However, the criticism itself proceeded from a one-sided understanding of the family, ignoring its material and economic nature as a relation which ensured the reproduction of the main element of production forces, i.e., which came close to production relations. The fact that the contemporary family is not reduced to this relation and, like labor and the labor collective, is not only economic but social in nature, is a different matter. We shall discuss this later.

The category of "direct life," used by Engels, obviously is coupled with the concept of "indirect life," in which the very intermediary act takes place through the human consciousness and will and orientation toward specific spiritual and ideological values. Consequently, the concepts of direct and indirect life coincide, to a certain extent, with the concepts of material and ideological relations.

In the initial stages of development of primitive industry, when the main role in productive activities was played by the physical potential of individuals, the reproduction of the human species did not require any family other than that of relations based on the differentiation between sexes and the interests of survival and strengthening the initial associations of people with a view to the production of means of survival. After the production-labor potential of man began increasingly to depend on mental and spiritual qualities, the mechanism of his reproduction necessarily became more complex. The family-relation developed within the family-social community, for it was only in such a form that it could ensure the reproduction of direct and indirect human life. Actually, a variety of such a family was also the clan as an association of blood relatives, descendants of a common ancestor.

The economic, social and psychological prerequisites for monogamy, the conversion to which ("marriage couple") "took place mainly thanks to the women" (2, p 84), who experienced most sharply the contradiction between the ancient inherited polygamy and the increased role of the individual the - personal principle in relations between sexes, developed within the framework of the clan system.

These historical facts proved the groundlessness of views according to which monogamy is the result of private ownership relations, for which reason it should "wither away" with them, yielding to forms of marriage which would be "more consistent" with the public ownership of means of production. It is



true that Engels made a distinction between single marriage and monogamy, indicating with the latter term only the type of single marriage which is the direct consequence of concentrating the wealth and power in the hands of the owner--the man--and establishing unlimited male domination over women. In other words, monogamy appeared as a private-ownership, an alienated variety of the married couple, based not on natural but on economic conditions. Therefore, it is as historically transient as private ownership. However, the crisis of the individual historical forms of ownership monogamy (slave ownership, feudal, bourgeois) does not reject in the least monogamy as the only basis of a modern family, for economics influences relations between sexes not only indirectly but also through culture, ideology and, in a class society, a specifically historical class-oriented value systems. Spiritual and, above all, moral and aesthetic, progress enhances the sexual need of man to the need of a strong, lasting, life-long alliance between men and women in an individual sexual love. Fully consistent with this real historical logic, Engels predicted that the equality of women, judging by all previous experience, will contribute infinitely more to the true monogamy of men than would polyandry.

The development of the family from a material-economic into a social formation enriched and, at the same time, individualized relations between husbands and wives and parents and children, complicating their structure and "extending" them into the social and ideological areas. Whereas in polygamous forms of the family the concept of "husband" and "wife" meant merely participating in the "child-making" act, while the concept of "parents" and "children" meant simply different generations, now they began to mean, above all, the social role of people and at the same time, individualized relations between husbands and wives and parents and children, complicating their structure and "extending" them into the social and ideological areas. Whereas in polygamous forms of the family the concept of "husband" and "wife" meant merely participants in the "child-making" act, while the concept of "parents" and "children" meant merely different generations, now they began to mean, above all, the social role of people, their social status and the corresponding range of individual and group rights and obligations.

At this stage in its development, the family which, in the primitive age was the only social relation, becomes not only a phenomenon of economic but also of social life, a "subordinate relationship."

However, to the extent to which the "means of joint activities is a production force" (1, p 28), like the labor collective, the family becomes an element of determined and determining systems and of primary and secondary factors. The task of sociology is not in the least to classify firmly and simply the family within any one of these systems but to analyze and forecast its development, taking into consideration not only the comprehensiveness but also the eternal subordination of marital-family relations and the specific historically determined structure of the family itself and its interaction with society.

Since the family participates throughout its virtually entire life in the reproduction of man, the interest shown by society in the family is virtually total. This creates a constant possibility of clashes between the private and intimate nature of relations which develop within the family and the social

need for families. The most efficient way of surmounting this contradiction was to institutionalize the family. The family was given the status of a social institution. However, this status by no means encompasses its entire nature and specifics, and even less so its significance in social life.

The institutionalizing of the family, achieved through the official acceptance and social support of marriage and, consequently, of motherhood and fatherhood, is of a specific historical nature. It is a dialectical unity of stability and variability, for it is a manifestation, on the one hand, of the human aspiration for the continuation of the species and, on the other, the specific-historical interests of individual classes, nations and countries.

The elevation of the family community to the level of a social institution greatly enriched the social content of the relationship on which it is based. Since historically social approval has been manifested in moral, religious or legal aspects, the importance of social and spiritual-psychological components increased even further in family activities.

It is thus that the family became a complex, multiple-level system, in which the reproduction of the individual was a factor not only determining the indirect life but also the reproduction of means for direct life, or, in simpler terms, a status of production forces and production relations and a degree of their unity and contradictoriness. In this case, it is a question above all of the legal and moral-psychological aspects of the interaction between husband and wife and parents and children; however, since it is precisely these aspects that give priority to the extent to which sexual needs were enhanced to the level of needs for love, while motherhood and fatherhood, to moral and sociolegal responsibility for raising the child, the family began to operate primarily as a social cell in which economic relations and sexual proximity were determined and controlled by spiritual values.

This trend of enhancing the role of the social and the spiritual-psychological principle is typical also of the activities of people in the area of the reproduction of means of existence. The increased division of labor turned not simply man as such into the main production force but the community of people among whom labor was divided and within which intercourse, including its psychological, moral and other noneconomic aspects, became an essential factor of productive labor. The contemporary labor collective, like the family, while remaining one of the subjects of the reproduction of direct life, is also an element of the social structure, a bearer of the spiritual values of society. All of this confirms the accuracy and logic of Engels' concept of the two equal forms of reproduction of direct life, the first of which has the labor collective as its subject and the second, the family.

As to defining the concept of "family" itself, obviously, we should speak not of one but of at least three identically accurate answers to the question. The broadest Marxist definition is the following: the family is a relation through which and thanks to which the reproduction of man and the social mechanism of this reproduction are obtained. The historical development of the latter leads to the transformation of the family into a social community as well, into a social institution. In terms of such hypostases, the family is considered an element of the social structure and as depending on the means



of production, and the economic base of society, for the dominating factor of its unity and functioning is the factor of the sociopsychological relations within which the natural base of the marriage is manifested. Regardless of the variety of scientific approaches to the study of complex phenomena, to the extent to which the need for their uniform understanding is retained, the contemporary family could be defined as an institutionalized community based on marriage and the consequent legal and moral responsibility of the spouses for the health of the children and their upbringing. This definition reflects both the basic approaches to the interpretation of the term "family" in Marxist literature as well as the specific nature of this phenomenon, manifested in its organic links with relations between sexes, marriage, the reproduction of man and the fact that the stability of family ties is ensured, on the one hand, by the interest of the members of the family to engage in joint activities and, consequently, to survive and the internal unity within the family group and, on the other, the social standards (legal, moral, etc.) in which the social interest of the family and its preservation and strengthening are manifested. This definition also indicates the main social function of the family determined by the sociohistorical need for it: the reproduction of man within the unity of the natural and social aspects of this process and its quantitative and qualitative indicators.

What leads to the appearance of the methodological need to single out the main function of the family? Above all, not all of its functions are of equal importance to society or express to the same extent the nature of the relationship which forms the family. Furthermore, it is only the main function that is directly, immediately and organically related to this relation. All others operate through it, for which reason their social value goes through the value which society ascribes to the question of the reproduction of the population. The profound interest of the socialist society in the family is determined by the fact that it "plays an important role in strengthening the health and the upbringing of the growing generations, ensuring the economic and social progress of society and improving demographic processes" (5). The other functions of the family broaden the range of its social roles. However, their evaluation is based above all on their contribution to the implementation of its main function. In other words, the main function is the family considered in the dynamics of its activities and its interaction with society. Such interaction takes place on all levels of the social structure, ranging from the material-economic to the ideological, confirming yet once again the idea that, like any other complex phenomenon and like man himself and society, the family cannot be classified as belonging exclusively to one of these levels. We must point out that such schematizing and conversion of dialectics from a method for the study of reality to the starting point of a speculative structure is unseemly in science.

Until recently, publications on problems of the family (including those by the author of this article) promoted the idea that socialist changes allegedly lead to the withering away of a family function such as participation in the production of means of existence. Naturally, this viewpoint did not develop without the influence of practical experience and, in particular, the numerous campaigns conducted against auxiliary farms and theories, particularly those expressed in books and articles, which claimed that cooperative ownership is

just about the only hindrance to economic and social progress. Now, in the light of the stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress, we have the opportunity to consider also the scientific principle-mindedness and the fate of the family's production-economic function. Experience gained in the successful work of family brigades (on a contracting basis) in a number of republics and oblasts (5), the development of family truck gardening, the remaining contribution made by auxiliary farms to supplying the population with food and the conclusion drawn at the congress that cooperative ownership "has by no means exhausted its possibilities in socialist production and in terms of the better satisfaction of the needs of the people" (3, p 40) are all features which have required a different solution to this problem. Whereas auxiliary farms in villages and gardens of urban families and the practice of the family contract are manifestations of the actual participation of contemporary Soviet families in the production of means of existence, the prospect for a closer national economic utilization of the possibility of cooperative work, including that of the family, confirms the fact that such participation will increase in the future. Obviously, this will affect the other functions of the respective family contingent. Here as well we must not find ourselves trapped by different stereotypes according to which family labor is mandatorily individual, that it is an alienation, a regression; the problem must be studied thoroughly and comprehensively on the basis of the fact that the main distinguishing line runs between labor and parasitism and that the scarcity of commodities and services is by no means the best alternative (including the moral one) for increasing the interest of the family in labor production activities.

Solving the problem of strengthening the family, which was formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress, also requires a more profound study of the laws and contradictions of its development under socialist conditions, the reasons which create negative trends in relations between sexes and parents and children, experience in the prevention of such trends, family therapy and family planning.

The formulation of measures of sociodemographic policy, aimed at strengthening family relations would have been quite simple, had such strength been defined exclusively in terms of the numerical correlation between marriages and divorces within a specific time period. A divorce, however, is not only a source of negative consequences but also a means of regulating marital-family relations in eliminating selfishness and unfairness within them. Therefore, limiting the right to have a divorce means worsening within the marriage the positions of those who are right and weak. Society could hardly benefit from this. Furthermore, preserved intrafamily conflicts and a hopeless situation may sometimes affect the activities of the spouses more severely than an open break. In this case nor is the hope that young people would develop a more serious attitude toward marriage justified, for the possibility of a difficult divorce strengthens the arguments of both those who would like to test their feelings as well as those who prefer to solve the problem by living together. Therefore, usually increasing the number and difficulty of obstacles to a divorce lowers the number of mothers who are raising children without a father as a result of the breakup of the marriage but increases fatherlessness as a result of nonmarital relationships.

Both a socialist family and a family based on essentially antisocial interests and traditions could be firm and even educationally active. Consequently, the purely quantitative approach to ensuring the solidity of marital-family relations could be distorted and deformed by the process of their development. Correspondingly, in order to ensure the optimality of this process, we must base it not on facts of stability or instability by themselves or the preservation or breakdown of the family, but on circumstances which unite or divide a family. The main among them is socialist society as a whole and its various components and its individual aspects and levels taken separately or together. Why are such specifying remarks necessary? Because the entity and its parts, and the macro- and microenvironment are by no means always the same and are sometimes even conflicting in their nature. Suffice it to say that negative phenomena (bureaucratism, slackness, formalism, parasitism, philistinism, etc.) are manifested and interact with the family and with the individuals as elements not of the macro- but the microenvironment. Therefore, although we note that in our country the family is structured on a socialist basis we should not conclude therefore that it always develops without conflicts and progressively.

The very understanding of the foundations must be refined as well. Taken most generally, the foundation of all processes which take place in a socialist society is the socialist production method. However, this method influences the family not only as a unity of production process and production relations but in its individual elements as well. In particular, scientific and technical progress can directly influence the mentality of the people, their job, intercourse, and time spending; the condition of the natural environment could influence their health; urbanization can influence social control and the entire system of social behavioral control. All of these phenomena are focused in the family, triggering changes which in frequent cases are by no means consistent with the changes determined by the production method. Demographic disproportion and the lagging of social services substantially intensify the degree of such inadequacy. Even the growth of material well being does not entail uniformly positive changes in marital-family relations.

In one quarter of a century (1960-1985) per capita real income has increased by a factor of 2.5; about 267 million people have improved their housing conditions. However, marital-family relations, judging by basic indicators such as the relative number of divorces and single-parent families, the extramarital birth rate, the average number of children per family, the percentage of irreversible anomalies among newly born children, and cases of deviant behavior of adolescents have not substantially improved during that period. The problem here is not the fact that wellbeing does not influence the solidity of the family and the premarital behavior of young people or that it does not improve conditions for setting up young families, but the fact that all of this can be accomplished only through cultural standards or, more accurately, when their growth is accompanied by a corresponding or even faster growth of the cultural standards of the masses. It is not the level of education but specifically culture that matters, for the latter concept is broader, although, possibly, less clearly defined. We know that knowledge can be used for both social and antisocial purposes; as to socialist spiritual culture, it is always social in the best, the loftiest meaning of this term.



However, a system which makes possible the mastery of such values by every person and their introduction in the individual awareness of the people divides a culture as a system of spiritual values of society, which sums up the experience of a class, nation and mankind, and culture as a feature of individual and group behavior. This cultural translation and its reorganization into individual culture begins with the molding and enhancement of spiritual (moral, aesthetic, cognitive, etc.) needs, i.e., with what we consider today the most vulnerable area of education, its Achilles' heel. That is precisely why education in our country still poorly stimulates self-education and the self-improvement of the individual and, consequently, individual responsibility for the maximal utilization of possibilities of spiritual development provided by socialism. Hence its lagging, which adversely affects not only all aspects of relations between husband and wife but also the nature of the influence of socioeconomic processes on the family.

In a talk with Klara Tsetkin, V.I. Lenin expressed the very profound thought that "it would not be Marxism but rationalism if we tried to reduce directly to the economic base of society changes in these relations in themselves, and separating them from their common ties with ideology" (4). This dependence on the ideology, culture and a multiplicity of other factors (among which we could include psychological influence of the threat of nuclear war on sexual and demographic behavior) makes the development of the family relatively autonomous, and reflecting socioeconomic progress only in the final account. That is why strengthening the family cannot be the automatic consequence of said progress but presumes the taking of special measures of economic, legal, educational-ideological, medical-genetic and psychological nature.

Today, in the light of the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, in which these measures were given a clear scientific substantiation, the study of the effectiveness of the efforts made and the possibilities and ways of upgrading it, must become one of the main trends in family sociology. This requires specific studies of the contradictions which hinder the full manifestation of the social potential of the socialist family. At the present time it is only contradictions determined by the lagging of social consumer services and alcoholism (clash between professional and parental roles, sharply negative influence of drunkenness on premarital relations, extramarital births, family microclimate and healthy offspring) that have been identified relatively thoroughly.

Extensive works have been published on intrafamily conflicts based on the clash between old and new traditions. However, we have no reliable empirical studies of this problem. Suffice it to say that in most publications on this topic the authors do not go beyond the statement that in the past marriages were based on economics while now they are based on love, although a great deal of proof remains that economic considerations play a role in relations between sexes within socialist society as well. This is not amazing in the least, for as long as differences in earnings exist, on the one hand, and, on the other, we have people, including young people, whose morality does not prevent them from using circuitous ways, such "life lines" not only can but must intersect. Naturally, there is a difference between economic considerations. One does not become a millionaire by having an apartment in the capital city or high earnings; such benefits, however, are entirely



comparable as guidelines in making a marital choice. And if nevertheless differences remain, they are negative; the lesser the advantage the greater the lie which imbues such marriages and all activities of families based on such considerations.

This lie, which is usually concealed by acts of adaptation, becomes the core of family life and the attitude of the family toward society also whenever the family has gained its wellbeing by means quite unrelated to honest labor. Estimating the number of such families is a matter of judicial statistics. However insignificant the number may be, however, sociology cannot ignore the fact that they exist, for this fact is the extreme manifestation of contradictions between a socialist way of life and its opposites in the area of marital-family relations.

Since the family is a system which includes levels, ways of life and awareness, one way or another, all contradictions between these levels, which are typical of society as a whole, are manifested within it. The lagging of consciousness, the durability of mental stereotypes and feelings and types of behavior developed under other historical circumstances, frequently under the influence of exceptional conditions (such as the postwar demographic disproportion), and the serious blunders which were made in ideological work and in the education of the young generation, have a most severe influence on the strength and moral health of the family. The fact that the level of spiritual culture is not always consistent with the contemporary requirements of our development is worsened by contradictions caused by material and housing difficulties, improper understanding of male authority and female emancipation, exaggerated self-assessments and expectations and, finally, differences in the mental setup and the character of the spouses, affecting a number of families. A significant percentage of contradictions which hinder the strengthening of the family and the enhancement of its social activeness may be traced to premarital relations.

The scale of this problem is indicated by the fact alone that "most first pregnancies of women of all age groups develop outside a marriage. They account for 61.7 percent of all conceptions, for 95.6 percent of them among 16 and 17-year old and 54.9 percent in the 25-29 age group" (6). Correspondingly, the share of marriages concluded with a view to legalizing an extramarital child increases as well as the number of abortions, frequently entailing subsequent sterility.

Unquestionably, a direct correlation exists also between premarital sexual activeness and the quite high indicator of instability of young families, which is approximately double the median.

These conclusions should not be understood in the least as an effort to accuse of immorality anyone whose intimate life is not juridically legalized. A great variety of reasons exist which make people violate social norms and stipulations. However, hardly anyone would object to the fact that such reasons should not include vulgarity, cowardice or thoughtlessness. Emotional slackness has nothing in common with personal freedom or with a rich emotional life. Unfortunately, to this day such simple truths are learned by young people most frequently through trial and error. According to two studies

conducted within a 10-year interval, only approximately 10 percent of urban high school seniors who were surveyed had obtained their initial information on relations between sexes from their teachers; roughly the same percentage had obtained such information from their parents and 40 percent from "all their comrades." Another study (which has been subsequently repeated) determined a direct correlation between marital stability and length of premarital acquaintanceship.

Time goes by and textbooks on family life are being written and published. They include many excerpts from poetry collections and from the words of wise philosophers, but almost nothing about the consequences of early, morally unmotivated premarital sexual relations, frequently stimulated by alcohol. "Alienation from reality and its real problems dooms ideological education to abstract enlightenment and verbosity," the CPSU program reads. It would be difficult to find a better example of such an alienation than the preparation of young people for marriage, the more so if a serious concern for such matter should begin not in the senior but the junior grades, which is the only time for laying a reliable moral and aesthetic foundation which would develop the need and the ability to love and the type of feelings of male and female dignity, civic duty and social responsibility which are today replaced by short verbal admonitions on such topics.

A number of steps have been taken in the last decade aimed at strengthening marital-family relations. In the opinion of the specialists, however, the result has been below expectations, for the spiritual unpreparedness of a significant percentage of young people for marriage seems to be based on the lowest starting point of the material wellbeing of the young family (7). Meanwhile, statistics show the contradictory nature of the actions and system for stimulating large families, particularly the fact that at the present time the maximal number of children (per 1,000 women 15 or older) are born to women lacking even primary education (3,433 children) or with primary education only (2,718). Mothers who are graduates of secondary or higher schools give to the country, respectively, 1,167 and 1,279 children (8). This trend, under the conditions of the law of universal mandatory secondary education, is fraught with the danger of lowering the quality of family upbringing, not to mention the fact that the quantitative indicators of the birthrate themselves show substantial disparities among individual parts of the country, in some of which they come very close to the level of reduced reproduction.

The CPSU program has called for reaching total wellbeing and, consequently, for the further strengthening of the economic support of the family and motherhood on the same level as the task of comprehensively developing all members of society. These tasks are of equal importance and significance but different—at least in terms of relations between sexes and the education of children—in terms of scale, difficulty and the amount of efforts which will have to be invested in solving them. Yet it is precisely the lagging of upbringing behind education and the requirements of practical experience and life in all of its concrete areas and manifestations, along with the fast obsolescence and loss of proper social effectiveness of some legal norms that weaken the influence of economic steps and incentives for the solution of demographic problems. It is a question not simply of increasing efforts in such areas but of Leninist concreteness and purposefulness of new developments

and of the fact that preparations for marriage must not be reduced to a belated verbal event; encouragements of the birthrate should not ignore the qualitative aspect of population reproduction and, in orienting women toward creative labor, we should not ignore the old and tried truth that the most important in terms of the destinies of the country and the social form of women's creative toil is the toil of motherhood.

The active and creative participation in the solution of all such problems, together with their scientific-theoretical and practical aspects, is what constitutes the main feature of the stage in the development of Soviet family sociology, the beginning of which was laid with the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress.

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SOCIOLOGY IN A CHANGING WORLD (SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86 (signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 43-55

[Text] The topic of the next international gathering of sociologists will be "Social Change: Problems and Prospects." Next August, specialists from more than 100 countries throughout the world, of different methodological and political convictions, but joined by a common responsibility for the implementation of the humane purpose of the science of sociology--to contribute to the preservation of peace on earth and to the development of cooperation between nations and states--will meet in New Delhi.

In the course of preparations for the congress, the Soviet scientists studied extensively the current situation in sociology abroad and analyzed latest trends in the theory and methodology of research. Pertinent data were published in our journal (No 4, 1984; Nos 2 and 3, 1985). Despite the seemingly kaleidoscopic nature of trends and schools, Western sociology is actively reassessing values related to the search for criteria of stability and order against a background of increased conservative moods. This is manifested in the theoretical "paradigms," which are a reconstruction of neo-Kantian ideas and efforts to integrate Marxism with a "stabilization" ideology, as well as a persistent aspiration to achieve a practical utilization of scientific results with the help of "socioengineering" activities. Social practice assumes a dominant significance in the "social knowledge-social policy-social practice" triad.

Specialists in the field of foreign sociology gathered on the eve of the congress in the editorial premises to exchange views on the difficult features and characteristics of the present situation in world science and the attitude of Marxism toward its various trends. Following is the record of their addresses.

Let us introduce the participants in the round-table meeting: G.K. Ashin, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, head of the department of philosophy, Moscow State Institute of International Relations; G.S. Batygin, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR AN ISI, deputy editor in chief of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA; I.V. Bestuzhev-Lada, doctor of historical sciences, professor, head of the social forecasting



sector, USSR AN ISI; A.N. Vlasova, candidate of historical sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR AN ISI; Z.T. Golenkova, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of sector, USSR AN ISI; L.G. Ionin, doctor of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR AN ISI; G.V. Osipov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, head of the department of methodology and history of sociology, USSR AN ISI, vice president of the Soviet Sociological Association; B.S. Starostin, doctor of historical sciences, professor; F.R. Filippov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, head of the department of the social structure of Soviet society, USSR AN ISI, deputy editor in chief of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA; A.G. Kharchev, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, head of department, USSR AN ISI, vice president of the Soviet Sociological Association, editor in chief of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA; G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, doctor of juridical sciences, president, Soviet Association of Political Science; A.V. Shestopal, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, deputy head of chair of philosophy, CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences; and S.A. Efirov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, senior scientific associate, USSR AN ISI.

A.G. Kharchev: The tasks which Marxist sociologists will have to deal with at the congress must be clarified.

The 27th CPSU Congress, which provided a profound analysis of the trends and contradictions in the development of the contemporary world, substantially enriched the methodological possibilities for the study of sociological thinking in different countries and its connection with the scientific and technical revolution, the general crisis of capitalism, the competitive confrontation between the two systems, the growing interdependence among countries in the world community and the increased activeness of the masses in the struggle for peace and socioeconomic progress.

Naturally, such a study is an exceptionally difficult and labor intensive project which requires the comprehensive consideration of each aspect of the problem and we do not hope in the least that our relatively short exchange of views, both in terms of time and the number of participants, can substitute for this work even to a certain extent. However, since most of us have some experience in the study of foreign sociology and participation in discussions with our foreign colleagues, including our ideological opponents, this meeting could yield results in terms of becoming a method for integration, testing, refining and concretizing already available knowledge, and a step toward their further enrichment and intensification, the more so since everyone of us has the need for joint interpretation for what we are doing in the criticism of bourgeois sociology and the study of new trends in global sociological science and its interrelationship with other sciences and, particularly, with practical work. I believe that the better clarification of the problems which will face Marxist sociologists at the congress itself must be one of the topics of this meeting.

G.V. Osipov: Today a change of generations has taken place in Western sociology and new guidelines have been drawn up.

The USSR AN ISI has been entrusted with the responsible and honorable obligation of preparing the Soviet delegation for participation in the

proceedings of the World Sociological Congress. We must be familiar with the condition of contemporary sociology in the developed capitalist countries. I have in mind, above all, the United States, England, France, the FRG and Italy.

In implementing the party's resolutions on intensifying the struggle against bourgeois ideology and the falsification of Marxism, the Soviet scientists have done a certain amount of work in this respect. In particular, global sociological theories were subjected to serious criticism. Less attention was paid to secondary-level theories. We have not studied sufficiently labor sociology, nonworking time, mass information and many other areas. Furthermore, we have not always been able efficiently to react to substantial changes occurring in Western sociology. As a result, we have frequently measured it with yesterday's yardsticks. This situation is beginning to be gradually corrected.

Today Western sociology is represented by an essentially new generation. The "classics" such as Parsons, Merton, Touren, Rostow and others, are already history. Not so long ago I attended a meeting of the American Sociological Association. After talking with the American specialists, I was amazed to discover that many of them were not even familiar with these names. Others considered concepts which were dominant only 10 to 15 years ago as belonging to deep antiquity.

Furthermore, there has been a theoretical and practical reorientation in bourgeois sociology. How is it manifested? In the latest wave of neo-Marxism. Whereas until the 1960s Marx's sociological theory was either ignored or treated with extreme hostility, in recent years it has become part of the sociology textbooks recommended to students in various U.S. universities.

What can one say of the Western attitude toward Marx and Marxist tradition? What determines the interest in Marxist sociological theory? First of all, the economic principle of explanation of social phenomena in the sphere of micro- and macroprocesses is becoming popular. Secondly, Marx's ideas, paradoxical though this might seem, are being used with increasing frequency in solving the practical problems of capitalist society. Third, neo-Marxism is used as an ideological slogan in anti-Soviet activities. Frequently Marx's texts are caustically interpreted as proofs that the socialist system has allegedly nothing in common with Marxism.

Today neo-Marxism is represented by more than 10 varieties. The theory of "scientific determinism" is very strong; traditions related to Lukac and Gramsci are becoming popular. Let me also name Marxist "critical" theory, Marxist structuralism, neo-Marxist economic sociology, the "historical" orientation, and the theory of "social revolutions." So far we know little of these trends. It is obvious, however, that all of them are developing against the background of intensified conservatism. To his contemporary Western interpreters Marx is not a revolutionary but, rather, a respectable theoretician.

Again let me mention my talk with American sociologists. When I and my colleagues Kh.N. Momdzhyan and Zh.T. Toshchenko tried to speak of general theories, they asked: Why is all that necessary? One must deal with practical matters and resolve practical, real problems. How to increase labor productivity? How to organize management better? Characteristically, over the stage in the hall where the American Sociological Association was meeting the inscription read: "Sociology-Social Practice-Social Policy."

In this connection I would like to make a more general remark. We have become accustomed to equate social science with ideology. This is not always justified. State-monopoly capitalism is interested in obtaining reliable sociological data which allows it to make considered decisions. On the basis of the sociological study of relations among people, their needs, value orientations, etc., both the state and business are implementing a strategy of manipulating their consciousness and behavior. As practical experience has indicated, such manipulation is quite effective. I consider this one of the explanations for the fact that today in the West sociology is becoming an instrument of social management.

Let me say a few words on the factual aspect of the matter. Some 200 publishing houses in the United States produce sociological publications. Tens of thousands of publications were presented at the 1984-1986 book exhibit. Sociological cadres are being trained at 260 university departments. Furthermore, courses in the social problems of economics, social engineering, sociology of the law, etc., are offered in 921 of 2,652 higher educational institutions. Sociology in the universities is taught by 5,000 doctors and professors. Every year foundations of sociology are studied by 892,000 students. All in all, 6,000 professional sociologists are being trained in the various U.S. higher educational institutions and \$89 million annually are spent on sociological research; \$10 million are spent on research abroad. There is no country in Europe, Africa, or Latin America where there are no American sociologists at work.

What are the results? Here we must single out two aspects: first, the base of sociological summations is broadening; second, a better idea is gained of the social development of contemporary capitalism and of Third World countries.

Unfortunately, I must point out that we are virtually not studying the results of empirical sociological research, for which reason we cannot judge with full responsibility the new social realities in the capitalist world. Furthermore, I believe that we must more definitely earmark our study topics. Occasionally sociology implies something amorphous, such as sociophilosophical, socioeconomic, political study and other problems. Sociology must not be replaced by quite important yet only related problems.

Unquestionably, we must be redirected toward the study of the social realities of contemporary capitalism and their reflection in practical sociological work.

A.G. Kharchev: We are indeed short of specific information on what is taking place in the West. The effective criticism of the latest sociological



concepts presumes above all proper information on the pertinent areas by the researcher.

Z.T. Golenkova: Today the significance of coordinating research among the socialist countries is increasing.

Marxist sociological theory is the result of the collective thinking and creative achievements of scientists from different countries, socialist above all. The main factors which determine the trends of its development in one country or another are the topical problems of socioeconomic development, cultural and sociological legacy and traditions which could either accelerate or hinder scientific progress.

The development of the science of sociology in the socialist countries has common features, determined by the unity of theoretical concept--Marxism-Leninism--as well as features related to the specifics of the socioeconomic system and national traditions. The common factor is that the sociologists in the socialist countries study the laws of socialist building and the basic problems of Marxist sociological science, which is manifested in the similarity of research topics. The specialists focus their attention on the theory of social development, the evolution of the social structure of socialist society, social planning, forecasting and management, the socialist way of life, and others. In connection with the development of the problem of the scientific and technical revolution great attention is paid to the interconnection among economic, scientific and technical and social progress. Sociological research also reflects the specifics of the manifestation of the general laws of social development in the individual countries and the features of the application of the principles of Marxist-Leninist sociology under specific conditions.

In recent years sociology in all socialist countries has gained the status of academic and university discipline. Its research base has been broadened significantly and the publication of a significant number of sociological journals has been undertaken; sociological training has been introduced in most countries and coordination among sociologists within the socialist community and on the international level has been intensified; the orientation toward the practical aspects of building socialism has been strengthened. Increased attention is being paid to comprehensive studies.

The Problems Commission for Multilateral Cooperation Among Academies of Sciences of Socialist Countries on the theme of "Evolution of the Social Structure of the Socialist Society. Social Planning and Forecasting," which was set up in 1974, plays a major role in summing up the experience acquired by Marxist-Leninist sociology. Since 1984 the commission has worked on "Social Processes in the Socialist Society." This project is being carried out with the participation of sociologists from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. The main tasks of the commission are the following: the study of the general laws governing the development and changes in the socioclass structure of socialist society; the elaboration of uniform methodological principles for sociological research; conducting comparative studies; summation of the experience acquired by Marxist-Leninist sociology in the study of social processes.

The joint work done by the sociologists from the socialist countries not only allows us to obtain important scientific information on social processes within each one of them but also contributes to the further strengthening of common ideological positions and the development of theoretical concepts and empirical research methods. The results of the joint work done by the sociologists from the socialist countries, obtained as a result of comparative studies of "youth and higher education in the socialist countries of Europe," and "rapprochement between the working class and the engineering and technical intelligentsia in the socialist countries" were summed up at the 10th World Sociological Congress (Mexico City, 1982). International comparative studies conducted by Marxist sociologists, although involving significant organizational difficulties, are yielding rich basic material for summations. Marxist-Leninist sociology is having increasing influence on the global sociological community. The experience of cooperation with Marxist sociologists has confirmed that without a profound mastery of the theoretical legacy of Marxism-Leninism no fruitful development of theory or practical success is possible.

G.K. Ashin: We do not need a simple description and criticism of foreign concepts but understand the logic of their development.

What are the latest trends in contemporary bourgeois sociology? The answer to this question is not simple. Above all, we must determine what it is that we have in mind when we speak of new developments in bourgeois sociology, for occasionally such "novelties" are old and legitimately forgotten features.

"Sociological fashion" in the West appears and changes quickly. It provides a rather variegated pictured. Bourgeois sociologists would like to consider this fact as proof that, first of all, this indicates the strength of bourgeois sociology and, second, freedom of research in capitalist countries. However, the abundance of schools and trends proves not the strength but, rather, the weakness of bourgeois sociology. The gnosiological roots of such sociological pluralism are obvious. If a true concept of social progress can be only one, all kinds of nonscientific concepts come in a great variety. Nor can the thesis of the "freedom" of sociological research in the West withstand criticism. One way or another, such studies have a clearly expressed social instruction: to justify the system of capitalist exploitation. This applies to empirical developments as well.

However, the question of the class roots of contemporary bourgeois sociology is sometimes solved in a primitive fashion. Frequently our textbooks and popular works depict bourgeois sociologists as agents of monopoly capitalism, who are deliberately formulating false concepts of the social process in order to mislead the toiling masses. This is not a Marxist but rather a vulgar-materialistic interpretation. Matters are more complex. Let me refer to K. Godel's theorem of the impossibility of proving the noncontradictory nature of a formal system with means borrowed from the system itself. The observer who is "within" a certain system cannot bring to light its basic foundations. Bourgeois sociologists analyze the bourgeois social system "from within," and behave honestly in their own fashion, proving their bourgeois limitations. They can be sincerely wrong and act as "ideological" soldiers defending capitalist relations.

Our literature dedicated to criticism of contemporary bourgeois sociology must itself be severely criticized. An important shortcoming in most such works is that it simply and eclectically enumerates its basic trends. In some cases the individual chapters in such works could be read without any kind of sequence. The "trifle" absent in such works is method, a system. At best bourgeois sociological trends are described in chronological sequence. However, bourgeois sociology is a system of knowledge which is developing under the determining influence of socioeconomic processes and by virtue of its inner logic. Consequently, the task is to bring to light the logic of the dynamics of bourgeois sociological thinking rather than simply to list trends and prove their historical sequence. By exposing the logic governing the functioning and development of bourgeois sociology we gain the possibility of forecasting the processes under study.

The difficulty of analyzing contemporary bourgeois sociology is related to yet another of its important features. Trends and schools not simply alternate in chronological sequence. We must not conceive of matters as though a new sociological fashion entirely replaces the previous one. The latter is simply shifted to the edge of bourgeois sociological thinking (both actually and figuratively). Trends continue to coexist and occasionally a given concept which may seem to have been long bypassed and buried will reemerge on the sociological stage (such as biological determinism and biosociology).

F.R. Filippov: The enemies of socialism are trying to use the negative phenomena exposed at the 27th Party Congress to discredit our social system.

I would like to direct the attention of the participants in our round-table meeting to the fact that at the forthcoming congress Soviet sociologists will discuss the problems of the Soviet way of life and the real contradictions in the development of our socialist way of life under difficult circumstances. This difficulty is related not only to the pressure of antisocialist forces but also the existence of our real internal problems which, as a rule, are presented in the West from viewpoints hostile to socialism.

We know that the open and principle-minded criticism of shortcomings in the Soviet economy and the profound study of the contradictions of social development, heard from the rostrum of the 27th CPSU Congress, gave the working people in the Soviet Union a powerful incentive for the enhancement of their creative energy. The congress' resolutions were welcomed with warm approval in the socialist countries. The enemies of socialism are trying to use the negative phenomena exposed at the congress for purposes of slandering and discrediting our social system.

A vile anti-Soviet campaign was launched in the West in connection with our trouble—the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. However, we must not fail to take into consideration that the scientific and technical revolution reformulates problems of personal responsibility. Obviously, we should consider the manner in which specific sociological data could help to explain contradictions in the development of our society and clearly indicate the leading progressive aspects of these contradictions.



Here mention was made of the activities of the Problems Commission for Multilateral Cooperation. I have developed the following impression from recent contacts with colleagues from socialist countries: some of them have displayed a critical attitude toward the possibility of solving the contradictions existing in their countries through socialist methods. It was precisely on this basis that articles were published, in Poland and Hungary, for example, which puzzled us. I expressed my rather restrained views on such publications in this journal (No 4, 1985). It is a question, above all, of the attitude toward the class and stratum structure of socialist society. I believe that today there are no reasons to consider classes in socialist society, the working class in particular, as "former," or that reality consists only of structural strata. The existence of social strata under socialism is an objective fact. However, this should not make us question the existence of classes and class structure.

To us the definition of classes and the acknowledgment of their presence under socialism makes not only general theoretical but also political and ideological sense. This must be taken into consideration in our discussions, and in the forthcoming congress.

The publication in this journal of a number of articles describing the present condition of Soviet society will contribute to strengthening the positions of our sociologists and the unity and reciprocal understanding among sociologists in the socialist community.

In one of the talks which I recently attended in the GDR, our colleagues expressed the view that after the 27th CPSU Congress many problems of sociological theory, which seemed exhausted, have assumed a new significance. This applies, in particular, to problems of the social structure of socialist society. The congress triggered a wave of approval of the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This too must be taken into consideration in the work of the Soviet delegation at the congress.

Z.T. Golenkova: Indeed, the problem of criteria and indicators of the societal structure faces the socialist countries quite urgently. However, we must take into consideration the fact that the class criterion may be the main but not the only one. Territorial, ethnic and professional differences exist. This requires a more profound work above all on problems of theory and attention to the urgent problems which we occasionally bypass. Recently a book by Zaslavskiy, the anti-Soviet, came out in the West. It discusses problems of residence permits and passports in the USSR, speaks of "limitations" and so on. Although we know this, we ignore it in our studies.

L.G. Ionin: The "jobbers" are a most important social problem. They are, above all, the consequence of lack of coordination between the economic and social spheres.

A.G. Kharchev: And if we, as researchers, bypass such problems, we offer the possibility of interpreting facts arbitrarily, distorting reality.

G.K. Ashin: Actually, we are now speaking of observing the Leninist demand of comprehensive study of social facts. For some reason, it is accepted to write

about negative phenomena as though not being rooted in socialism. However, a phenomenon without roots is not a social fact but an accident. We thus block our own way to the sociological study of real problems. We must write the truth.

A.G. Kharchev: A remark on the roots of negative phenomena. We have become accustomed to believe that all the roots are socialist. However, we have processes which are either indirectly or totally unrelated to socialism. Let us take urbanization, which is a general process. The same applies to mass migrations and the nuclear threat. Nothing happens without social roots. However, we must also be familiar with their nature, their origin.

A.V. Shestopal: So far, we frequently come across scarcity of information. This circumstance hinders the development of sociological research.

A.G. Kharchev: Here a great deal depends on surmounting psychological inertia. It is simple to say, abandon the old way of thinking. This does not answer everything. One must surmount the old.

G.K. Ashin: What does "surmount" mean? I hope that you will not deny that we have conservative people in our country, who have become well familiar with a set of new phrases. They say that a new way of thinking has already developed in our country. Actually, this is a blocking maneuver.

A.G. Kharchev: Unfortunately, conservatism frequently hides behind "progressive" phraseology. Actually, it seems to me that we should return to the round-table topic. Let A.V. Shestopal go on.

A.V. Shestopal: Latin American sociologists are disappointed of industrialization.

I would like to take you to another part of the world, very far from us. The 1982 congress took place in Mexico City, and Latin America became the target of increased interest on the part of our social scientists. The Latin American sociologists themselves began to come out on the big sociological arena. It is no accident that F. Cardoso (Brazil) was elected president of the World Sociological Association at that meeting.

The emphasis in the Latin American sociological movement is on macrosociological models and the aspiration to preserve unity within social theory. Characteristically, many scientists insist on a research method such as artistic observation. Naturally, this is debatable but is explained with the unusual popularity enjoyed by Latin American literature and, in particular, the tremendous role which Latin American novels play in molding public awareness. The sociologists envy the fine feeling which Latin American writers display for events in their own country and the degree to which they are able to do something which is beyond the possibilities of sociologists, such as develop original features.

At the present time, it seems to me, a stage related to hopes for the industrialization of the area is coming to a close in Latin America. One notices a disappointment with industrialization and urbanization, which have

brought about a number of difficult problems. For example, the situation did not improve by converting the rural poor into urban poor. The problem remains and has become even more crucial and dramatic.

The sociologists are concerned by the question of how to act under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. Characteristically, the scientific public has a certain interest in the Soviet experience. I was frequently asked how we were able, after the war, in a situation of dislocation and economic blockade, to implement our space program, master nuclear power and ensure a certain increase in the well-being of the population, substantially advance the housing program and promote the democratization of society.

Greater interest in Marxism and Marxist tradition was mentioned here. A great deal is being done in this respect in Cuba. The republic's sociological centers recently completed studies in the Island of Youth. In the next 5-year period a study on the "new generation of the revolution" will take place covering the entire country.

Let me say a few words on the way Latin American sociologists reacted to the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress. As a whole, the strategy of acceleration and, particularly, the congress' work style met with great response in the political and professional spheres. Above all, this led to a discussion concerning a new world order. The great attention paid to the Soviet proposals on creating a system of national security stimulated dissatisfaction with the neoconservative concept of a world order. The idea of reducing expenditures on armaments and coming out of the dead end in which the economy of Latin America and other developing countries finds itself was welcomed with tremendous approval.

The stipulation formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress on enhancing the role of the human factor had a strong impact on the view of sociologists who intensified their opposition to cybernetics models for a social reorganization. The fact that the Soviet Union is planning to implement a strategy of socialist acceleration through the development of democracy and upgrading the openness of criticism made a strong impression.

We have extensive opportunities to conduct a dialogue with Latin American sociologists. Let us hope that we shall be able to use them.

A.N. Vlasova: Cuban sociology is having a great influence on social thinking in Latin America.

A.V. Shestopal already mentioned sociological research in Cuba. I shall discuss this problem in greater detail. The republic's Academy of Sciences drew up its second 5-year plan for sociological research for 1986-1990. It calls for work on 21 basic problems within the framework of the "Cuban Revolutionary Youth" research program. The results of this work will be published in seven scientific works. We must point out the development of demographic research and the study of problems of youth and the way of life. Sociological studies are being conducted by various scientific institutions. For example, the Physical Planning Institute is working on "Perfecting the Job



Placement System." The republic's Ministry of Culture is working on "Leisure Time Culture."

The following trends may be noted in Cuba's social development: increased employment in the state sector of the national economy, increased role of cooperative ownership in the agricultural sector and increased size of the working class; enhanced level of conscientiousness among all social groups, the working class in particular; increased share of people engaged in intellectual work. The further development of the social structure of society is the main topic of the Center for Psychological and Sociological Research of the Cuban Academy of Sciences.

Other scientific institutions dealing with sociological and related problems are the Center for Demographic Research of Havana University; the Statistical Research, Physical Planning and Health Care Institute, the Center for the Study of Youth Problems of the Youth Communist League, the Institute for the Study of Internal Demand, and others. The CP of Cuba Central Committee has a Center for the Study of Public Opinion. It is engaged in studies related to improving social policy. At the present stage in the development of Cuban sociology particular importance is ascribed to the practical application of the results of the studies.

B.S. Starostin: The science of sociology in the developing countries has become the target of sharp ideological struggle.

The establishment of the science of sociology in the developing countries is a difficult, contradictory and as yet understudied process. This process reflects the most important problems of national reconstruction and cultural rebirth, and the struggle waged by the developing countries for economic independence and against scientific and information neocolonialism. The features of the development of social thinking in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are organically related to the ideological confrontation which has become drastically aggravated in the current world situation.

I shall discuss the basic trends in the social thinking of the developing countries, represented above all in sociology, political studies and cultural anthropology. What are the sociotheoretical sources of ideological trends?

The historical destinies of the peoples of Asia, Africa and South America were substantially different in both the precolonial and the postcolonial ages. However, there was a common situation according to which the social thinking in those areas was somehow generated from two different sources. The first was the universities which were set up in the colonial countries and which, for a long time, were the main channel for the dissemination of the ideas and concepts of Western science. The second were the "centers" of nationalistic and anticolonial feelings, represented by the progressive intelligentsia, the patriotic clergy, the national bourgeoisie and the respective sociopolitical organizations, which ideologically prepared the development of the national liberation struggle. It is symptomatic that at the very first stage of colonization of the various areas, two ideologically interrelated problems found themselves in the center of sociological thinking in the enslaved

peoples: the attitude toward the West--toward "white civilization"--and the attitude toward the history and culture of their own countries.

The development of sociopolitical thinking in the developing countries can be presented schematically as a transition from the ideas of enlightenment, which idealized Western cultural values, to concepts of a nationalistic bent, which drew their vital force from the traditions of ethnonational culture and which opposed political-economic and spiritual colonialism and proclaimed their freedom from the dependence and the implementation of an ideal and an original social system. In accordance with this trend not only the attitude toward colonialism and "the white man's civilization" and Western political theories changed but also views on the cultural legacy of one's own people and their contribution to world history.

Familiarity with Marxism-Leninism substantially influenced the shaping of the sociological views of recognized leaders of developing countries, such as J. Nehru, M. Gandhi, Sukarno, Aung San, G. Nasser, H. Boumedienne, K. Nkrumah, A. Cabral, P. Lumumba, J. Nierere, A. Netto, M. Nguabi and others. The development of the sociological views of the leaders of the national liberation struggle took place spontaneously, reflecting the features of the development of national democratic ideology in the developing countries. Hardly any one among them was a professional sociologist, although many of them had had a Western liberal education.

Professional sociological ideas were disseminated in the developing countries with the creation and growth of university centers. Although universities in Latin America and Asia had been founded as early as the 19th century, a real "boom" in university building and, particularly, the opening of sociological departments, began only in the postwar period.

The attention paid to the science of sociology sharply increased in the 1970s. Thus, in 1963 only one of the 55 papers submitted at the annual theoretical conference of countries in Eastern Africa had been written by an African. In 1973 African social scientists were already a significant majority: 100 out of a total of 142. In colonial India only two universities--in Bombay and Lucknow taught sociology. Only four diplomas in "sociology" and "social anthropology" had been awarded in the 1930s; 34 were awarded in the 1940s, 79 in the 1950s and nearly 370 in the 1960s. The number of specialists in these sciences continued to grow in the 1970s.

Important questions of developing and implementing various social policies arose for the young science of sociology in Latin American, Asian and African countries. What direction was followed in the processes of social change? Can they be controlled, and if so, how? Was the social development of capitalist societies in Europe, North America and Japan acceptable? Could archaic social structures and traditional cultural values be put in the service of social progress?

On the basis of the neocolonialist social order, Western bourgeois ideologues tried to offer to the developing countries their own ready-made answers to these complex problems. Through their efforts, variants of the "theory of

modernization," based on the methodological principles of structural-functional analysis, became widespread in the 1950s and 1960s.

The pro-Western concepts began to be subjected to sharp criticism in the 1970s and 1980s. Disappointment in the "modernization theory" and models of economic growth developed by Western specialists for the young liberated countries, increased. Today ideas which reject not only Western social thinking but also Western technology, culture and Western way of life as a whole, are becoming popular. Slogans of a "middle way" of social development and the creation of a "new society" consistent with original social ideals and traditional values, are being raised. The critical reassessment of pro-Western trends in sociology in the developing countries is based, first of all, on nationalistic or ethnocentric traditionalism; second, on a national-democratic or revolutionary-democratic ideological-political platform. These are the two "flanks" of the reassessment.

The first "flank" is trying to arm itself ideologically, on the basis of traditional values and religion. In the case of the Afro-Asian countries, it is a question above all of the values of Buddhism and Islam and less frequently local animistic cults. Despite the entire variety of sociopolitical shadings, the objective and means of social development are based on the teachings of Buddha and Mohammed. In a number of countries religious views and religious practices are being updated and the clergy is becoming involved in political and social activities. The sociological concepts of Buddhist and Muslim theoreticians are also being "updated" in order to be more consistent with the needs of people and of social development in the liberated countries in the final quarter of the 20th century.

On the other hand, the intensified influence of revolutionary-democratic ideology and growing interest shown by professional sociologists in Marxism-Leninism and the theory and practices of sociological research in the socialist world is a very noticeable trend in the development of sociological thinking. Characteristically, this trend is inherent not only in countries in which revolutionary democratic parties are ruling but also in countries which have long followed the capitalist path of development and in which the revolutionary democratic alternative is still not part of the agenda.

Therefore, the basic trends in the development of sociopolitical thinking in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are related to ideological and social-class differentiation which reflects changes in the social structure and the social orientation of these countries. On the one hand, the ideological trends expressing the interests of the growing bourgeoisie and the new social strata have become clearer. This trend is not homogeneous. It includes a broad variety of theories of a reactionary-conservative pro-imperialist nature and others with a national-patriotic orientation. On the other hand, the ideas of national democracy are becoming increasingly popular.

I.V. Bestuzhev-Lada: Futurology in the face of social change.

When bourgeois futurology is discussed, we usually list the works of D. Bell, B. De Jouvenel, H. Kahn, A. Peccei and others, who began work in the 1960s and are today as much part of ancient history as, let us say, Spenser or Conte in



sociology. In futurology concepts become "obsolete" or part of history far more rapidly. Frequently the critical fire is still focused on the reports issued by the Club of Rome on the global problems of our time, which came out in the 1970s in a series of monographs published by the Institute of International Law (United States), and the books by A. Toffler, starting with "Future Shock" (1970) and ending with his "Third Wave" (1980). The Club of Rome continues to issue its reports, the works of said institute continue to be published, and Toffler is writing his latest book. All of them, however, are still behind the "cutting edge" of futurology in the area of history of social thinking of the second half of the 20th century. Even the latest futurological best seller of the same variety—"Megatrends" by J. Nesbitt, which came out in 1982, is by no means the last word in futurology.

What is the "last word?"

It includes, above all, the new versions of the frankly apologetic "techno-optimistic" concepts, whose authors rely on the omnipotence of science and technology in solving global problems of our time and their opposite alarmist "ecopessimistic" ideas, based on lack of faith in the salvation of mankind, should it follow the beaten path of scientific and technical progress in the 21st century as well. Essentially, there is little difference between these concepts and those which prevailed in the second half of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s. However, such "minor differences" occasionally draw quite serious attention on the part of the international public.

The most interesting are the so-called transformist concepts of a "new civilization," which, according to their authors, should put an end to global problems of our time without major social upheavals. They are described in the series of monographs by Geysel Henderson ("Creating Alternative Futures," "Solar Era of Politics: Alternative to (Traditional) Political Economy," and others), Mark Satin, Marilyn Fergusson and others. The difficulty is that even these books, which came out between the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, are already history. The stress of the ideological struggle in the futurological battlefields today is so great that specialists describe such monographs as "Egyptian pyramids," meaning that that which was a subject of debates a few years ago has already been "settled." Furthermore, today futurologists are not satisfied even by journal articles and more recent editions: too many months have to pass from the time the questions raised by the authors has triggered a "feedback"—the response of the readers.

Unquestionably, the transformist concepts are the basic offensive trend in contemporary Western futurology. All other trends are considered a defense in depth. It is precisely the "transformists" who are today attracting the creative youth and it is precisely in this environment that the most prestigious ideological leaders are making a reputation. In our view, the greatest possible attention should be paid to this trend.

The main among these concepts are alternatives of basic trends in scientific and technical progress as it is today. "Pure energy" (electric generating plants based on solar, wind and water energy), is called upon by the "transformists" to become dominant and radically to change the people's way of life. First, an end must be put to the arms race and to various

"pseudoneeds." Second, transportation must be "minimized," ensuring pedestrian accessibility to work, shopping and entertainment. Third, proper housing insulation, thus greatly reducing the cost of heating and cooling. Fourth, persistently promoting rational nutrition and modest hygienic clothing, lowering energy outlays for their manufacturing. Fifth, paying greater attention to environmental protection and to strengthening the family, which is the permanent value, the foundation of society. In a word, build, develop, "conquer" and rush here and there less, and pay greater attention to the growing generation, humane relations among people, art and ethics.

Is this compatible with the capitalist production method and the bourgeois social system? Many "transformists" are looking for alternatives. This offers a broad field for dialogue among sociologists from various countries and for constructive debates.

S.A. Efirov: "Productivity" and humanism.

Despite the periodical changes of sociological concepts and types of social consciousness, more or less stable intellectual "dominants" remain. By this I mean a technocentrist and econocentrist style of thinking, which remains predominant. This is not astounding, for the material needs of the contemporary world dictate their own imperatives and have a specific thinking and acting logic. However, even the opposite logic, the reasons for which are becoming increasingly dramatic, deserves most serious attention.

The opposites of technical and economic centrist approach are so numerous that even their classification on a single basis would be hardly possible. Left wing-radical and neoconservative ideas of this kind, postindustrialism and infraindustrialism, posttechnocratism and ecologism, the concepts of "alternate technologies" and "zero growth," and romantic-nostalgic utopias and concepts developed with the help of computers are by no means the complete enumeration of efforts aimed at changing the dominant way of thinking, efforts which are unsuccessful but which leave major traces in the social consciousness.

I shall try to single out the rational ideas, important in terms of contemporary science, separating them from the boundless sea of apologetics and fantasies.

The first concept can be arbitrarily described as that of "antiproduktivity." Its initial premise is that the industrial era, the age of productivity, is coming to an end. Under the influence of automation and electronic and, particularly, microprocessor technology, a radical break is taking place in ordinary socioeconomic relations. This is the reason for the crisis in which the developed industrial countries find themselves. The crisis is worsened by the fact that virtually no one understands this and that, as in the past, the idol of economics, the "logic of productivity" remains ubiquitously dominant; it is still hoped that technological efficiency, economic development and growth will resolve the crisis and help to deal with unemployment. This concept is based on an objective process of reducing the need for necessary labor, which inevitably increases in the age of automation, robotization and computerization. This process is consistent with a sociopsychological

reorientation: labor ethics becomes a part of the past, and labor is no longer considered the main objective in life. Life values shift to other areas of activity. Survey data confirm changes in priorities and in the "leisure time or money" choice, in favor of time. All of this, however, is stubbornly ignored, for the breakdown of the sociocultural model of society based on labor ethics and on the principle of productivity would deal an irreparable blow at imperialism on which the power of the ruling elite is based.

The ideas of "antiproduktivity" in their latest variant appear somewhat more serious and attractive than in their lighthearted hedonistic edition. Nevertheless, all of them are obviously premature. Furthermore, is rejecting the principle of productivity (even assuming that this is possible) realistic or humane, at a time when many countries are facing the problem of survival? Would people deprived of work or earning a pitiful income express themselves in favor of having "free time?"

The second concept is that automation and microelectronics could be the foundations for both blossoming and democratic as well as excessively centralized social systems. In the latter case this pertains to a system based on total social control and manipulated consciousness. In this case microelectronics could provide self-education, self-upbringing and self-control on the basis of preprogrammed standards. Warnings against this variety are useful.

The third concept is quite typical of neoconservatism. In addition to fetishism of economic growth and the cult of technological efficiency, it rejects the fundamental technocratic idea according to which all problems can be solved through organizational and managerial methods, rational-bureaucratic "programming" of the socioeconomic area and various processes, for all of this violates the "natural" course of social development and the self-regulating of the socioeconomic organism. Such regulating is so complex that any interference brings unforeseeable and, as a rule, negative consequences. Naturally, this concept clearly ignores the fact that contemporary state-monopoly systems, precisely due to the fact that they are complex systems, can no longer do without various forms of state regulation. Unquestionably, however, it has a grain of rationality which we should bear in mind. M.S. Gorbachev spoke of the need to convert the economy into a self-regulating mechanism. The disturbance of self-regulation caused by utopian projects and incompetent interference inevitably leads, as historical experience proves, to stagnation, economic inefficiency and negative social consequences.

L.G. Ionin: What do Western sociologists have in mind by degradation of labor?

I cannot accept the viewpoint that in bourgeois sociology labor is no longer conceived as the main value in life. An increasing number of authors are reaching the conclusion that by studying this area of activities the sociologist studies processes which make society what it is. Contemporary bourgeois society is usually interpreted as a labor society and crisis phenomena within it are directly related to the labor crisis. These are quite important changes in dominant orientations: it is increasingly becoming a



question not of the "society of recreation" or "consumer society," to which future well-being is related, but of a labor society which is in a status of steadily aggravating crisis. Naturally, consumption and recreation are not rejected but their role is being radically reassessed: the growing degradation of labor is paralleled by a degradation of needs and interests in the areas of consumption and recreation. The crisis in labor ethics is a crisis of the social organization of labor, which triggers a universal alienation and a "crisis" within the individual.

The views of Western sociologists on the crisis are somewhat influenced by Marxist ideas. In particular, we find interesting the view of Hanna Arendt, the noted philosopher and sociologist. R. Darendorf, K. Offe and others have taken up her main thesis that a labor society was created by labor and considers labor the main value. At the same time, however, and precisely thanks to the absolutizing of the role of labor and reducing all human activities to it, it reduces labor to the simplest and most basic physical labor, thus accomplishing its "degradation."

Consistent with the "ideological" degradation of labor, which is the base of self-awareness of contemporary society, are real social trends. They include, above all, unemployment, which creates the type of social conditions under which one could speak of work only as a means of survival rather than of the realization of man's creative potential. This is an impoverishment of the content of labor, which is the consequence of a profound division among its functions, efficiency, automation, etc. Here a great role is played also by intensified professional identification of the members of society, in which man identifies himself with his profession and loses the possibility and ability to change activities, without which it is difficult to speak of shaping a comprehensively developed individual. A dead end situation appears: the degradation of labor is paralleled by increased productivity and, consequently, increased amount of leisure time. The individual, however, who was shaped in the course of this labor, turns to be incapable of creative self-realization. As a result, the leisure time is exclusively spent in consumption. Consequently, leisure time does not allow us to break out of the closed circle of production "activeness."

The crisis of the "labor" society, strictly speaking, is the fact that the need for such results is based on the organization of contemporary bourgeois society, and the organization of labor activities. The solution to the crisis presumes changes in this organization. Naturally, however, in Western sociology it is a question not of changing ownership relations but technical and organizational innovations, the purpose of which is to enrich the content of labor activities, relieve them from monotony and create conditions for individual self-realization. Furthermore, the problem is formulated of creating an alternative--not conveyor-belt or automated--economic organization, which would coexist with the traditional capitalist economy and used to neutralize or remove the negative effects of the latter.

No unanimous view exists on how should such an alternative economy be organized and how extensive its influence should be, or would it eventually, replace traditional large-scale output.

At this point we cannot get into the details. Let me emphasize that the current broadened understanding of the role of labor in Western sociology faces Marxist criticism with a number of urgent problems, the solution of which should be sought in specific studies, for abstract concepts would be of no help in this case.

G.S. Batygin: The critique of Western sociology is not a self-seeking genre but a feature of the research process.

It seems to me that today, when an active reorganization of many areas of social life is underway, a number of stereotypes of our attitude toward Western sociology should be questioned, stereotypes which constitute unwritten rules in research. Let us consider the traditional journal rubric "Critique of Contemporary Bourgeois Sociology." In the majority of cases, the experienced reader could see in advance the structural system of the article, which is quite trivial. At first the views of the person criticized are summed up more or less adequately and the reader knows in advance that the person will be mandatorily exposed (the only interesting aspect is for what reason); this is followed by the critique itself. The latter is usually reduced to proving that so-and-so rejects the class approach, does not acknowledge the primacy of matter, pours grist in someone's mill, etc. Furthermore, in some scientific works criticizing bourgeois sociology I have come across value judgments which an educated person would hardly permit himself. Understandably, one does not have to be excessively tender in sympathizing with ideological opponents. Nevertheless, differences in political convictions and even hostile relations do not give grounds for "losing face" and name-calling. I do not wish to be understood as though I have assumed the obligations of teaching others good manners. No! I am seriously concerned by the fact that blanket criticism which, why conceal it, is also somewhat inherent in our journal, not only does not contribute to an efficient struggle against bourgeois ideology in science but even discredits Soviet sociology.

But let us go on. This stereotyped pseudocritical style hinders the study of the real processes occurring in Western sociology. I am not speaking of the distortion of the ideas of authors, although this frequently happens, but the fact that we have become accustomed to seek "under a critical light" that which may not exist at all. According to Gennadiy Vasilyevich Osipov, we are some 10 years behind in criticizing that which is now history. I agree entirely but I believe that the concepts expressed by D. Bell, W. Rostow, R. Aron and Z. Brzezinski are simply more convenient to criticize. Strictly speaking, their views belong to the philosophy of history and not to sociology. In order to criticize the latest sociological works we must specialize in specific areas of knowledge. That is the secret of it all. It turns out that specializing in criticism is insufficient from the viewpoint of real, efficient criticism. We also need professional competence in the respective areas.

Here we are in the presence of leading specialists in foreign sociology, and I hope that they will correct me if I am wrong. Frequently researchers must use criticism in the study of scientific problems which, for one reason or another, have been artificially removed from the field of Marxist-Leninist

sociology. Let us take the problem of rationality, which is interpreted in our country (except for M.K. Mamardashvili's book) strictly within the framework of the critique of M. Weber. Why is Soviet literature not engaged in special studies of daily problems? We are forced to turn to "Understanding Sociology" not only in seeking proof that Mead or Schutz is wrong but in order to interpret a given problem.

In my view, therefore, criticism must be based on the study of a real scientific problem and not be predetermined as an unequivocal "mood" of the author concerning his opponent.

G.Kh. Shakhnazarov: It is precisely political knowledge that supplies energy to the social transformation process.

The resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress have raised a number of complex and important problems in all sectors of Marxist-Leninist social science. The most responsible role in the implementation of the party's program of radical reform, however, is that of political economy, sociology, political studies and psychology, which must give Soviet society a new quality. Most importantly, this applies not to each one of them in particular but to all of them combined.

It seems to me exceptionally important accurately to understand the specific nature of this historical moment from the viewpoint of the level reached in socioeconomic development, the status of social consciousness, the possibility and need of mastering the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the international situation of the Soviet state, and the future of peace and socialism. We find a key to this understanding in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the congress and in the new edition of the party program. This refers to an inordinately high, I would even say unparalleled, standard of summation. The entire inconceivably great wealth and variety of contemporary social phenomena must be considered in their entirety, together; priority is given not to elements in the structure of the worldwide and domestic socioeconomic and political order but to the interconnection between them, not to the static but the dynamic nature of processes. Correspondingly, the main attention is being focused on immediate and medium-term developments.

This is no accident. A properly determined logic of knowledge (and action) is a reflection of objective logic (or, if you wish, dialectics) of development. The high level of summation is needed because the process of internationalization of economic and all social life of mankind, which has advanced far ahead, has drastically compressed political space and time. The challenge which global problems have hurled at the world community, the problem of peace and survival in the nuclear age in particular, demands the highest possible responsibility of each individual country. This is a responsibility dictated not only by duty but, above all, by interest, for, given today's interdependence, we are all in the same boat.

Today the need for taking an anticipatory view in the case of some phenomena becomes exceptionally great. It is self-evident that this is not the result of an attraction for futurology or science fiction but an elementary prerequisite for success in any activity under conditions in which equipment



becomes obsolete each 8 to 10 years and an increasingly broad range of production processes gains a powerful acceleration thanks to the use of robots and computers and when the world is enmeshed in a net of communication and transportation lines, the velocity of which is increasing steadily.

Therefore, a comprehensive anticipatory approach is needed everywhere. The conclusion of cooperation and interaction among sciences comes straight from this overall postulate. Let me say a few words about sociology and political science. Strictly speaking, these sectors of knowledge are close relatives and it is frequently difficult to separate one from the other. Now, however, they must become even more integrated with each other. It is only through the efforts of mixed scientific collectives that applied studies can be conducted (which are greatly needed) and experiments organized, the results of which would be of practical use.

In what directions should we concentrate the interaction between our sciences?

Above all, this applies to the idea of accelerating objective development, the idea of self-government. Now, when it has been legitimized through the full authority of party documents, the task is not to prove the need and advantage of self-government principles but specifically to bring to light or develop the most effective forms of self-government for the different levels and areas of social activities. Directly related to this task is that of defining steps, optimal for the given stage, of the correlation between democracy and centralism and state and social principles.

Finally, in my view, the profound study of problems of political culture, particularly of its subjective element, will be of tremendous significance. The point is that it is precisely political culture that supplies energy to the process of social change and that the pace and quality of the implementation of the broad resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress depend, above all, on it. Naturally, the duty of the scientists is not limited to impartially recording the level of political consciousness as it exists on the different social levels but to formulate specific steps in the interest of the psychological restructuring of cadres which is considered by the party a prerequisite for acceleration.

A.G. Kharchev: The statement by Georgiy Khosroyevich makes my concluding speech unnecessary. Nevertheless, I would like to express a few remarks based on this discussion. What is restraining the efficient critique of bourgeois sociological concepts? What should be undertaken to ensure the qualitative change of the current situation in this area?

If we speak of the future, a great deal depends on the level of sociological training. Unfortunately, a situation remains in which the process of specialist upbringing and education is reduced to memorizing ready-made formulas and elementary information on the views of one scientist or another, frequently based on secondary sources. The main thing is not achieved: students and graduate students are not taught to engage in independent thinking and creative work with sources. That is why the criticism of Western sociology frequently appears like a repetition of memorized assessment clichés. Briefly stated, the insufficiently competent criticism of Western

sociology is caused, above all, by omissions in the system of VUZ training of social science specialists. Their knowledge in the area of criticizing bourgeois sociophilosophical ideas is, as a rule, superficial, and their information concerning empirical sociological studies in the West is exceptionally small. To the best of my knowledge, MGU sociologists are taking a number of steps to correct this situation. In particular, they are improving the training course in the respective subjects and the writings of the classics of Western sociology are being prepared for publication. The latter is particularly important. For a number of reasons, we can read the works of leading Western sociologists only in the original language. They are virtually not translated into Russian. This, to say the least, is strange. Why is it that we have on our shelves volumes of "Philosophical Heritage" while we can only dream of a "Sociological Heritage?" The current demands of Soviet sociologists are not entirely satisfied by the publication of the series "Social Sciences Abroad. Philosophy and Sociology," by Izdatelstvo Progress. The quality of the books within this series must be improved.

The lack of original sources leads to superficial repetition of quotes, as was noted by the round-table participants, and to poorly argued criticism.

Today we spoke little of our successes and more of unsolved problems, omissions and unused opportunities. I believe that this is as it should be. A businesslike and a constructive work style is one of the main requirements of the 27th Party Congress, and I am confident that this exchange of views will have a beneficial influence on our further scientific and social activities and will play an important role in upgrading research efficiency and quality.

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**IMPROVING THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL WORK IN ECONOMIC SECTORS AND  
RATIFICATION OF THE STANDARD REGULATION ON ENTERPRISE, ORGANIZATION AND  
MINISTRY SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICE**

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 88-91

[Text] A joint decree enacting the Standard Regulation of the Social Development Service of Enterprises, Organizations and Ministries was adopted by the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the NUOCTU Secretariat in April 1986. Following is the publication of both documents.

The resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress set the task of harnessing sociopsychological factors as one of the most important prerequisites for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development on the basis of increased production efficiency and all-round utilization of the labor and social activeness of the working people.

The national economic sectors have now acquired certain experience in the use of sociopsychological production reserves and management of social processes. The social development services of enterprises, production and scientific-production associations, organizations, ministries and departments (subsequently referred to as enterprises, organizations and ministries) play an important role in the solution of such problems.

The problems of the stabilization of labor collectives, strengthening production discipline, developing the sociopolitical activeness of the working people, ensuring the efficiency of socialist competition and improving the organization and incentive of labor are being successfully solved on the basis of the practical application of sociological and psychological methods at a number of production associations and enterprises, such as AvtoZIL, the Svetlana Electronic Instrument Manufacturing Association in Leningrad, the Norilsk Ore Mining-Metallurgical Combine imeni A.P. Zavenyagin, the Tiraspol Clothing Association imeni 40-Letiya VLKSM, the Machine Building Plant imeni V.I. Lenin in Dneprovskiy, the Krasnyy Proletariy Machine-Tool Building Plant in Moscow, the Perm Telephone Equipment Plant and others. Their experience indicates that the comprehensive utilization of sociopsychological factors helps to increase labor productivity by as much as one third and to lower



cadre turnover by a factor of 2-3. At the same time, the social trend in the development of the enterprises is intensified in connection with regional and territorial interests and requirements.

Nevertheless, the state of the work in the social development of labor collectives and the organization of sociological and psychological studies is not as yet consistent with the level of contemporary requirements and with the tasks set by the party and the government in the area of the country's socioeconomic development.

With a view to improving and developing sociological work in national economic sectors and systematically intensifying the influence of social and psychological factors in upgrading economic efficiency in the country, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and Secretariat of the AUCCTU, in coordination with the USSR State Planning Committee, promulgate the following decree:

1. Ratify the standard regulation on the service for the social development of enterprises, organizations and ministries as per the attached appendix.

Together with the corresponding trade union authorities, ministries and departments shall formulate, on the basis of said standard regulation, and approve in 1986, a regulation on the social development service of enterprises, organizations and ministries consistent with their sectorial features.

2. Recommend to ministries and departments: to enhance their efforts in the planning and management of social processes, paying particular attention to the identification and utilization of sociopsychological factors with a view to enhancing the technical retooling of the production process, the elimination of manual, monotonous and nonprestigious jobs, to perfect the ways and means of economic management, to upgrade the efficiency of the system of distribution according to labor, to improve the conditions governing the work, way of life and recreation of working people; to intensify the social orientation of cadres and to ensure the fullest possible implementation of the stipulations of the USSR Law on Labor Collectives and on Upgrading Their Role in the Management of Enterprises, Establishments and Organizations;

Create social development services, including corresponding subdivisions within the centralized apparatus of ministries, departments and sectorial (departmental) scientific research establishments (for the sake of scientific-methodical support of operations) in production and scientific-production associations, enterprises and organizations (within the limits of the stipulated size of the personnel and the wage fund);

Stipulate in standard structures of enterprises, associations and organizations social development services and in tables of organization jobs for corresponding specialists, based on one specialist per 1,000 to 2,000 working people; in associations and enterprises employing in excess of 25,000 working people to introduce the position of chief sociologist with a salary equal to that of a chief specialist;

Name base enterprises and head organizations in charge of developing and disseminating progressive experience in planning the social development of labor collectives and the activities of services for the social development of production associations, enterprises and organizations;

Ensure coordination of the work in the field of social development of labor collectives, by creating for such purposes coordination councils in ministries, enterprises and organizations, including representatives of planning, personnel and construction subunits, social development services and agencies in charge of labor and social organizations;

Intensify control over social requirements in designing new and reconstructing existing enterprises (formulating social infrastructures and ensuring favorably working conditions, etc.);

Stipulate in the plans for scientific research for the 12th 5-Year Period the formulation of sectorial social requirements and standards;

Starting with 1987, to stipulate in sectorial qualification enhancement institutes upgrading the skill of personnel in social development services; to formulate and approve corresponding standard curriculums and programs; to organize improvements in the skill of leading cadres, specialists and trade union personnel on problems of social development and management.

3. The Scientific Research Labor Institute and the All-Union Scientific-Methodical Center for the Organization of Labor and Management of Production of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the respective scientific research organizations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and ministries and departments shall:

Take additional steps to accelerate the development of methodological foundations for the operation of social development services and for ensuring the steady scientific-methodical guidance of their activities in the various economic sectors and the summation and dissemination of progressive experience;

In 1987 to draft method recommendations on the formulation of sectorial social requirements and standards.

4. To request of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education to consider in 1986 the problem of expanding the training of specialists in the fields of sociology and psychology in accordance with the needs of the national economy.

5. The All-Union Institute for Upgrading the Skill of Managerial Personnel and Labor and Social Problems Specialists and the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement imeni N.M. Shvernika to organize, starting with 1987, courses to improve the skill of personnel of social development services of enterprises, organizations and ministries. The Higher School of the Trade Union Movement imeni N.M. Shvernika to consider the problem of training scientific cadres in applied sociology.

6. The journals SOTSIALISTICHESKIY TRUD, SOVETSKIYE PROFSOYUZY, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, PSIKHOLOGICHESKIY ZHURNAL and VOPROSY PSIKHOLOGII shall systematically report advanced domestic and foreign experience in the area of social development of labor collectives and the work of social development services of enterprises, organizations and ministries.

7. The councils of ministers of union republics shall be asked to take steps aimed at creating social development services and perfecting their activities within republic ministries and departments.

8. By no later than 15 March 1987, USSR ministries and departments will submit to the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems information on the steps which have been taken and the results of the work done to create and perfect the activities of social development services in the individual sectors.

9. The consolidated department of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the Department of Wages and Economic Problems of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the social science section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium are instructed systematically to consider the course of the work on the creation of social development services and the enhancement of the efficiency of their activities and to submit corresponding suggestions for consideration by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the Secretariat of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

I. Gladkiy, chairman, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems

P. Fedoseyev, vice president, USSR Academy of Sciences

V. Provotorov, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions

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**STANDARD REGULATION ON THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICE OF ENTERPRISES,  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MINISTRIES**

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[Text] The task set by the CPSU of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development on the basis of the all-round utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress requires the mobilization of organizational-economic and sociopsychological factors in public production and the strengthening of the social trend in economic management.

In this connection, the need arises to upgrade the work level in the field of social development of labor collectives and perfecting the management of social processes.

**1. General Stipulations**

1.1. The purpose of the social development service is the formulation and implementation of measures which will ensure the comprehensive utilization of sociopsychological factors aimed at upgrading production efficiency, perfecting the management of social processes in labor collectives and developing the creative activeness of the working people.

1.2. The main tasks of the social development service will be the following:  
Identify and utilize social reserves for the growth of labor productivity and production intensification;

Study of sociological and psychological problems of the organization of the work, way of life and recreation of the workers and the formulation of ways and means of resolving them;

Organize the management of the social development of labor collectives;

Provide organizational and methodical support and coordination in the formulation and implementation of plans and comprehensive target programs for social development;

Improve the ways and means of educational work.

1.3. The social development service of the sector will consist of the

corresponding functional structural subdivisions of production and scientific production associations, combines, trusts, enterprises, organizations, scientific research institutions, ministries and departments (subsequently referred to as the enterprise, organization or ministry).

The subdivisions of social development services (departments, laboratories, bureaus, sectors, groups) will include sociologists, psychologists, and specialists in vocational guidance and production organization and management.

1.4. The structure and personnel of the social development subunits will be approved in accordance with the stipulated procedures by heads of enterprises, organizations and ministries (within the limit of the stipulated personnel size and wage fund).

1.5. Associations and enterprises numbering more than 25,000 working people may have a position of chief sociologist (with the rights of chief specialist), in charge of the social development service.

In associations and enterprises employing less than 25,000 people the social development service—department, laboratory, bureau, sector or group—will be under the direct jurisdiction of the manager of the association or enterprise or of his deputy.

Studies of the social problems of labor collectives of enterprises may be carried out jointly with scientific institutions, VUZs and base enterprises as well as on the basis of economic contracts and contracts for creative cooperation and through the creation of work groups involving specialized consultants in matters of social problems.

1.6. The social development subunit within the ministry's apparatus will ensure the implementation of a uniform social policy in the sector. It will coordinate activities of associations, enterprises and organizations in this area.

Providing scientific and methodical support of the activities of the social development services in enterprises and organizations and the study and dissemination of progressive experience will be assigned to one of the sectorial scientific research organizations.

1.7. The social development service will operate jointly with the other functional and production subunits and the public organizations, with the extensive involvement of labor collectives.

1.8. In the course of its activities, the social development service will be guided by the resolutions of the party and the government, the laws, standards and method materials, decrees and clarifications issued by the USSR State Committee for Planning, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Central Statistical Administration and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, guided by the materials drafted by ministries (departments) and this regulation.

1.9. Enterprises, organizations and ministries shall issue the respective regulations on the social development services on the basis of the present standard regulation.

## 2. Functions of Social Development Services

2.1. The social development service at enterprises and organizations will perform the following functions:

2.1.1. In the planning and management of social development of labor collectives:

Study the conditions governing the social development of labor collectives, formulate suggestions for draft annual, 5-year and long-term plans, and comprehensive target programs for the social development of labor collectives;

Study the social aspect of scientific and technical progress; formulate measures to eliminate social heterogeneity of labor, ensure the sociopsychological application of robotics and flexible automated production facilities, and reduce the volume of hard, monotonous and unskilled manual labor;

Conduct sociological and sociopsychological studies, analyses and forecasts of development of social processes; draft proposals on taking into consideration sociopsychological factors in the organization of working and living conditions;

Disseminate sociological and psychological knowledge and organize the training of managers in the foundations of industrial sociology and psychology and summation and application of progressive experience in managing the social development of labor collectives;

Participate in the organization and experimentation and development of suggestions on sociopsychological aspects of perfecting the economic mechanism;

Participate in expert evaluation of plans or the construction and reconstruction of projects for industrial and nonindustrial purposes such as to meet social requirements and standards.

2.1.2. In the area of perfecting the social structure and stabilization of labor collectives:

Forecast social processes in connection with planned programs for the technical retooling of production and study of changes and formulate suggestions aimed at advancing the social structure of cadres;

Study the reasons for cadre turnover and formulate steps to retain cadres and stabilize labor collectives; provide sociopsychological support for vocational guidance, professional choices and vocational training, placement, production adaptation and professional and job promotion of cadres based on individual-



psychological characteristics of the personnel; participate in developing a managerial reserve on the secondary and primary management levels.

2.1.3. In the application of progressive forms of labor organization: participate in:

Elaboration and implementation of steps to upgrade satisfaction with labor, ensure the reputation of professions and strengthen the creative nature of labor;

Shaping the structure and composition of brigades and contract collectives;

Certification and rationalization of jobs and making them consistent with social requirements;

Formulation of measures to improve and set up safe and favorable conditions for and improving the standards of labor, and improving the working conditions of women;

Developing suggestions on upgrading the quality of labor norming and the effectiveness of moral and material labor incentives with a view to achieving high end results.

2.1.4. In the area of developing the labor and social activeness of the workers:

Formulation and application of measures aimed at upgrading the social role of the individual and the creation of a favorable sociopsychological climate in labor collectives; holding psychological consultations with the working people on production and daily life problems;

Drafting suggestions on upgrading the role and significance of tutorship;

Formulating social measures to strengthen labor and production discipline and upgrading responsibility for the implementation of planned assignments;

Developing, in conjunction with the corresponding structural subdivisions, suggestions on the development of conditions for the growth of the cultural and technical and professional standards of the working people and the development of their creative initiatives, rationalization and invention and participation in production management;

Participating in formulating the most efficient ways and means of organization of the socialist competition and utilization of sociopsychological factors for upgrading its efficiency.

2.1.5. In the area of social services:

Elaboration of suggestions aimed at perfecting and developing the social infrastructure and creating conditions to satisfy the sociocultural and daily requirements of the working people; participation in the formulation of

suggestions aimed at ensuring the allocation and utilization of the funds for sociocultural measures and housing construction;

Analyzing the organizing of the leisure time and formulating suggestions aimed at improving the utilization of leisure time, and ensuring more favorable conditions for the recreation of workers and members of their families and of labor veterans and pensioners;

Formulation of suggestions aimed at the development of daily life, sanatorium-treatment, cultural-educational and other types of services at enterprises, organizations and ministries.

2.2. The social development services of ministries will perform the following functions:

Formulate objectives and tasks governing the activities of the subdivisions of sectorial social development services;

Organize sociological and psychological work in the sector;

Control and coordinate the activities of social development services at enterprises and organizations;

Organize the forecasting of the social development of the sector;

Formulate and supervise the implementation of plans for sectorial social development;

Upgrade the skill of the personnel in social development subdivisions;

Organize the systematic training of economic managers on problems of the theory and practice of upgrading the efficiency of utilization of sociopsychological factors at enterprises and organizations in the sector.

2.2.1. The social development service of scientific research organizations ensuring scientific and methodical guidance of the activities of respective services in enterprises and organizations in the sector will perform the following functions:

Develop suggestions aimed at shaping and perfecting the system of organization and management of the social development of labor collectives; provide methodical aid in the formulation of programs and plans for social development and supervise the course of their implementation;

Sum up and disseminate progressive experience in the solution of sociopsychological problems in associations and enterprises;

Formulate programs and coordinate and implement sociological and psychological studies;

Provide scientific-methodical support for the activities of social development services in enterprises and organizations;

Organize practical science seminars and conferences on problems of social development of labor collectives.

### 3. Rights of Heads of Social Development Subdivisions

The manager of the social development subunit (department, laboratory, sector, bureau, group) will have the following rights:

3.1. To request and obtain in accordance with regulations from the structural subdivisions data needed for research and for work in the field of social development.

3.2. To involve, with management approval, the personnel of the corresponding subunits of enterprises, organizations and ministries in the implementation of joint projects.

3.3. To control the implementation by structural subdivisions of the steps stipulated in the plans (comprehensive target programs and projects) of social development and to submit for consideration by the management suggestions aimed at eliminating shortcomings and encouraging individuals actively contributing to the implementation of steps in the field of social development.

3.4. To establish relations on problems pertaining to the competence of the individual subdivisions with their respective subdivisions of enterprises, organizations, ministries, scientific establishments and higher educational institutions; to recruit specialists from outside organizations, in accordance with proper procedures, for purposes of formulating and improving work in the area of social development.

3.5. To represent their enterprise, organization or sector in matters of planning and management of social development in relations with superior organizations and at conferences.

### 4. Responsibilities of Managers of Social Development Subunits

Managers of social development subdivisions have the following responsibilities:

4.1. To substantiate recommendations aimed at upgrading the efficiency of the utilization of social reserves under the conditions of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the application of the new economic mechanism and the enhancement of the human factor.

4.2. To ensure the efficient formulation and application of steps in the area of the social development of labor collectives; to implement suggestions ensuring the growth of labor productivity with the help of sociopsychological factors, upgrading satisfaction with the work, perfecting the social structure and stabilizing the labor collectives and ensuring the fuller satisfaction of the social needs of the workers.



4.3. To substantiate the formulation of suggestions related to the consolidated part of the plan for economic and social development covering the entire set of social measures and to supervise its implementation.

4.4. To ensure the application of progressive experience in the area of the social development of labor collectives and the application by enterprises and organizations of intersectorial and sectorial standards and method materials, observing social requirements and standards and implementing a uniform policy in the field of social development and in the organizational-methodical support of such work.

4.5. To substantiate recommendations on cadre selection and placement and enhancement of their skills.

4.6. To implement plans for the work of social development subdivisions.

4.7. To ensure the quality of materials submitted to the management for the purposeful utilization of sociological and psychological information.

4.8. To ensure that the ethical aspect of the implementation of sociopsychological research is observed.

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## DYNAMICS OF THE SOCIOPROFESSIONAL STRUCTURE OF GENERATIONS

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[Article by Leonid Abramovich Gordon, doctor of historical sciences, professor, head of laboratory of socioeconomic statistics, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement. Author of the monograph "Sotsialnoye Razvitiye Rabochego Klassa SSSR" [Social Development of the Working Class in the USSR] (1977, coauthored), "Razvitiye Rabochego Klassa v Sotsialisticheskom Obshchestve" [Development of the Working Class in Socialist Society] (1982, coauthored), "Rabochiy Klass SSSR: Tendentsii i Perspektivy Sotsialno-Ekonomicheskogo Razvitiya" [The Working Class in the USSR: Trends and Prospects of Socioeconomic Development] (1985, coauthored) and others. Permanent contributor to this journal; and Viktor Viktorovich Komarovskiy, candidate of historical sciences, scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement. This is his first article in this journal]

[Text] The purpose of this article is to define some quantitative indicators and the laws of the socioprofessional dynamics of Soviet society they have expressed for the past 25 years. It is a question of the generational mechanism of such dynamics, i.e., of the socioprofessional differences between generations and the shifts which have accompanied the consecutive change of generations and changes in the socioprofessional composition within the generations in the course of their lifetime. The consideration of these changes enables us to refine the scale, trends and prospects of socioprofessional changes. This becomes particularly topical under the situation of accelerated socioeconomic development which provides a "scope for truly revolutionary change" (2, p 101) and a qualitative change of all aspects of social life (ibid., p 139).

The problem of inter- and intrageneration mobility has drawn the close attention of Soviet sociologists (the most complete reflection of the successes achieved by Soviet sociology in this area may be found in the works of M.Kh. Titma (3-4)). So far, the socioprofessional dynamics of generations has been studied primarily on the basis of selective data borrowed from local and regional surveys and, to a lesser extent, on the basis of all-union information arrays. The acquisition of data from governmental statistics and the utilization of the three population censuses (1959, 1970 and 1979)

substantially broadened the possibility of utilizing information gathered throughout the country. Thus, the censuses provide information on the occupation of a number of groups which at the time of the surveys were in the 20-29, 30-39, 40-49 and other age groups. For the country at large, the groups separated by 20-25-year intervals, could, with a certain degree of approximation, be considered as cohorts representing related generations--parents and their children. A comparison between the composition of such groups confirms changes which occur in the transition from one generation to another (intergenerational changes). A comparison between the composition of different age groups in sequential censuses (such as the 20-year old at the end of the 1950s, the 30-year old at the end of the 1960s, the 40-year old at the end of the 1970s) enables us to trace changes within the same generation (intragenerational changes) (the methodological principles of this use of census data were formulated by E.V. Klopov (5)).

A clarification is needed before we undertake the study of the problem. Socioprofessional structure means a system of broad professional strata and groups affiliation with which is defined not only by the professional and technical sameness of the job but also the existence of a number of essential common features of the social aspect of the personnel: similarity of conditions, nature and social functions of their labor, existence of specific interests, specific life style and culture, mentality and way of life.

At the present stage groups and strata which bring together workers whose jobs are different, to being with, by the complexity and nature of their work and, secondly, depending on their physical nature play a leading role in the socioprofessional structure of Soviet society (6, pp 158-174). Contemporary statistical figures enable us to classify these groups into three overall generations (i.e., including individuals of consecutively different age groups) which, to a certain extent, represent yesterday's, today's and tomorrow's nature of the country's employed population.

Unquestionably, social differences among the consolidated categories of employment, which form socioprofessional groups and strata in terms of extent, variety and overall significance have nothing in common with class differences. Socioprofessional divisions in themselves do not determine the attitude toward means of production and forms of ownership. To one extent or another class differences affect all aspects of the socioeconomic and sociocultural status of the working people whereas the socioprofessional differences affect no more some of them. Correspondingly, as long as classes are preserved as the basic elements of the social structure, "the division of society into classes....must clearly be considered by us as a basic fact" (1).

As delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, "Constant concern for strengthening the alliance among the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia is the cornerstone of the policy of the CPSU.... However, unity within socialist society does not mean in the least any equalization of social life. Socialism develops the entire variety of human interests, needs and capabilities.... Socialism needs such a variety which it considers a necessary prerequisite for the further enhancement of the creative activeness of the people and their initiative...without which a socialist way of life is inconceivable" (2, pp 50-51).



At the present stage, the study of socioprofessional differences is necessary above all in order to find reserves for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and take social consequences more fully into consideration. The development of the scientific and technical revolution is directly related to perfecting social relations, restructuring the way of thinking and developing a new mentality and asserting the dynamism of social change. "Scientific and technical progress, naturally, cannot void the laws of social development and its social meaning and content. However, it has a tremendous influence on all processes and their contradictions occurring in the world" (2, p 10). This influence is manifested directly and indirectly in the restructuring of the socioprofessional structures and in changes in the correlations among its component groups. The study of such changes is an important means in the study of the prospects provided by the scientific and technical revolution.

Within the complex multiple-tiered structure of contemporary Soviet society, socioprofessional groups hold an intermediary status between the basic professional and the large social groups of types of classes. In terms of the latter, the socioprofessional groups and strata frequently act as intraclass communities. Whenever class differences will be essentially eliminated, the socioprofessional groups, together with some other social formations (such as socioterritorial and settlement groups) will become, in our view, the main components of the classless although not entirely homogeneous social group of socialism.

Following are some remarks on the subject of the empirical base for the study of socioprofessional structure of generations. Soviet sociology has acquired significant experience in the study of this problem. Its summation is a separate topic. Let us note, however, that the results obtained by N.A. Aitov, Ye.G. Antosenkov, P.O. Kenkmann, L.N. Kogan, A.A. Matulenis, M.N. Rutkevich, F.R. Filippov, O.I. Shkaratan and other specialists confirm, as a whole, the trends we have detected in the study of state statistical data. Therefore, any limitation of the empirical base of statistical data is based on the desire of the authors to apply empirical data in obtaining end results. In the final account, we are sincerely convinced that the materials of the censuses are preferable in the study of the general dynamics of socioprofessional composition of generations to the results of surveys which, despite their advantages, are of a local nature.

Therefore, we consider data on the socioprofessional structure on a number of age cohorts. Information on the 20-year olds by the end of the 1950s and the 40-year olds at the end of the 1970s pertain to the same generation—to people who were born in the 1930s (1930-1939) and began their labor careers in the 1950s and, as a rule, reached the peak of their labor careers in the 1970s. Materials pertaining to 40-year old workers by the end of the 1950s indicate the socioprofessional structure of the generation born in the 1910s, at a time when they reached the peak of their labor activities. Most of these people were the parents of generations which were born in the 1930s. Finally, information on those who were in their 20s by the end of the 1970s give us an idea of the initial socioprofessional structure of those who were born in the 1950s (1950-1959) and who are, essentially, the children of those who were born in the 1930s.

Therefore, data on said age groups provide information on three consecutive (genetically related) generations whose socioprofessional structure was shaped under the influence of the most typical socioeconomic processes of their time. The first of the age cohorts under consideration (born in the 1910s and who were in their 40s at the end of the 1950s) is a generation created by the accelerated economy of the first 5-year periods, the period of the war and the postwar restoration; the second cohort (born in the 1930s, who were in their 20s at the end of the 1950s and in their 40s at the end of the 1970s) is a generation shaped by the economic development of recent decades, in the course of which they have experienced the initial influence of intensification and increased well-being, with their beneficial prospects and difficulties, such as adverse trends in the economy and the sociospiritual sphere (2, p 101); the third cohort (people born in the 1950s, who had reached the age of 20 by the end of 1970s) are a generation scheduled to ensure scientific and technical progress and a general acceleration of socioeconomic development.

It is an important fact that data on the age cohorts represent the structure of the most typical generations on the basis of the comprehensive and uniform state survey and are a reliable factual base for determining the trends and scale of socioprofessional changes and, correspondingly, the development of the socioprofessional structure of society as a whole. In a comparative study of generations the most important trends in such a development are clearer than in the consideration of averaged data for the entire employed population. Changes in the socioprofessional structure of the population take place primarily within the framework of generational changes, above all in the transition from one generation to another and, subsequently, in the course of the life span of a given generation. Therefore, "segments" of socioprofessional development, reflected in the structure of the generations offer a much more significant idea of circumstances compared to information based on averaged figures.

The comparison itself among three subsequent generations (see Table 1), two of which are most typical of those employed from the postwar years to the present and, the third, representing the future nucleus of the population which will be employed in the 1980s and 1990s, brings to light the main trends the socioprofessional development at the present stage and the immediate future. The basic trends of this development are defined by the combination between two processes. First, there is the increased complexity of social labor; correspondingly, with each subsequent generation the share of groups and categories of working people with more difficult professions increases. Secondly, the physical nature of labor changes. The share of individuals engaged in farming is reduced and the share of people engaged in industrial, information and organizational types of works and services increases.

The socioprofessional structure which was typical of the 1940s and 1950s, i.e., the structure of employment with which our people completed the first period and undertook the building of developed socialism, reflects quite fully the composition of the generation born in the 1910s. Although it is precisely this generation that carried out the industrialization, its professional composition preserved, so to say, its early industrial (and, partially, preindustrial) structure. The life of the absolute majority of the workers of this generation was related to professions involving simple and traditional

physical work. However, a relatively high percentage of this generation accounted for people employed in agriculture. By the end of the 1950s, when the bulk of the employed members of this generation reached the peak of their labor career, more than 50 percent of them had skills which did not require any major training prior to undertaking their labor careers. Less than 30 percent of the workers of this generation had skills involving more complex physical labor; about 20 percent of them were engaged in intellectual work, including professions involving skilled mental work which required higher or specialized secondary training, accounting for 15 percent of the total; 40 percent of the members of this generation were employed in agriculture; 38 percent in industrial-type work; 10 percent were in services and 7 percent in information-type work.

Table 1  
Socioprofessional Composition of Generations Born  
in the 1910s, 1930s and 1950s, Percent of the  
Total Number Employed of Each Generation\*

Employment Category	Generation of the 1910s	Generation of the 1930s		Generation of the 1950s		
	Age 40-49 (end of 1950s)	Age 20-29 (end of 1950s)		Age 40-49 (end of 1970s)	Age 20-29 (end of 1970s)	
		Including Students	Excluding Students		Including Students	Excluding Students
Differences in the nature and complexity of labor, including those employed in simple physical labor requiring no lengthy professional training	52	38	39	29	16	17
More complex physical and mental-physical labor, requiring professional training for simple mental (nonphysical labor)	27	41	42	41	46	49
Complex mental labor requiring specialized training	6	7	7	7	11	12
Distinguished by material content of labor, including those employed in the following types of work:	15	14	12	23	27	22
Agriculture	40	-	32	22	-	13
Industrial	38	-	49	48	-	53
Information	7	-	7	9	-	13
Services	9	-	10	13	-	16
Organization	6	-	2	8	-	5

\*Remark. Table computed on the basis of: (6-11).



The socioprofessional structure of the generation born in the 1930s, which began work in the 1950s (i.e., the children of the previous generation) proves that in the 1960s and 1970s changes in the quantitative indicators of the socioprofessional structure were related above all to the increased number of skilled types of physical labor and employment of a general industrial nature. The share of individuals engaged in industrial professions among this generation was, from the very start, much higher than among their parents (respectively, 50 and 38 percent). Essentially this was explained by the influx in industry of offspring of families of agricultural workers. It is indicative that the share of farm jobs among 20-year old workers declined by the end of the 1950s compared with the respective share of their fathers and mothers by approximately as much as it increased in the share of industrial professions: in the first case the decline was in the range of 9 percent (from 40 down to 31 percent) and the increase in the second was by 11 percent (from 38 to 49 percent).

The generation born in the 1930s became the first generation of working people in our country in which employment in industry outstripped that in agriculture. A lowering of the share of people engaged in agriculture continued in the course of the socioprofessional development of this generation throughout its lifetime. When people born in the 1930s reached the age of 40-50, less than 22 percent of them had remained in agriculture--fewer than one half of workers engaged in industrial professions.

Changes which occurred in the correlation between skills requiring simple and complex physical labor are organically related to changes in the sectorial structure and the material content of the production activities of the generation born in the 1930s. Since the majority of workers employed in industrial labor are skilled, both changes express various aspects of a single process--a restructuring of the socioproduction and socioprofessional structure of Soviet society on an industrial basis. Naturally, as the first generation in our country in which more people are related to industrial employment than to agriculture, the generation of the 1930s also became the first generation in which the predominance of workers engaged in the simplest variety of physical labor disappeared. The largest stratum of representatives of this generation consisted of workers engaged in skilled physical and mental-physical labor (over 40 percent). Whereas at the beginning of their labor activities the number of workers in this category was only slightly superior to that engaged in the simplest professions of a physical nature, subsequently acquired experience and increased skills brought about a reduction in the percentage of unskilled workers within this generation from 38-39 to 28-29 percent. As a result, by the 1940s and 1950s people engaged in complex physical labor accounted for nearly 50 percent more than members of the same generation performed simple labor.

In 20 years of work the share within this generation of workers engaged in mental work increased substantially, above all work which was complex and required specialized training. The latter category accounted for 12 percent of the generation in its youth (14 percent including university students) and 23 percent in their mature age. Professions involving mental work became widespread among the members of this generation; numerically, they virtually equated the number of people engaged in the simplest types of physical work.

The breakdown of workers according to the nature and difficulty of their labor among the generation of the 1930s had an entirely different structure compared to their parents. In the latter (as in numerous generations preceding them) this breakdown was like a classical socioprofessional pyramid the foundation of which consisted of large groups of workers engaged in the simplest jobs while the peak accounted for relatively small strata engaged in complex mental work. Meanwhile, the correlation among professional groups "within" the generation which had become the nucleus of the employed population in the 1960s and 1970s changed in terms of complexity. Most of that generation consisted of individuals practicing skills of average difficulty. Therefore, in this case the socioprofessional structure here looked more like a lozenge rather than a traditional pyramid.

A radical change also occurred in the socioprofessional and, partially, the entire sociocultural situation.

The process determined in the comparative study of the socioprofessional aspect of the generations born in the 1910s and 1930s remain at the present stage as well. The number of workers engaged in agricultural and simplest physical work who began their careers in the 1970s-1980s was far fewer compared with that of the preceding generations (correspondingly, 13 and 17 percent and 22 and 28 percent). The general reduction in the number of simple professions compared with the more difficult ones and the further reduction in the share of unskilled agricultural jobs is and will remain in the foreseeable future and important feature of socioprofessional developments.

Nevertheless, the specific features of present changes are quite clearly manifested in the socioprofessional aspect of contemporary young people and in the parents of adolescents. The correlation between basic occupations among members of the young generation is clearly defined by new factors which are still in their formative stage. Quite indicative in this connection are changes in the material content of labor. Today's youth is distinguished from their parents not only by the higher percentage of industrial jobs as well as by a substantial increase in the share of information-type professions and professions related to consumer and sociocultural services. Industrial jobs account for approximately as many (about 50 percent) workers of the generation born in the 1950s and the generation of the 1930s. Meanwhile, among workers born in the 1950s the share of employed in information-type professions, from the very start of their labor careers, was higher by a factor of 1.5 and, among those employed in services, 1.3 compared with the preceding generation at the final stages of their productive life (13-14 percent compared to 9 percent and 16-17 percent compared to 12-13 percent). In the preceding intragenerational transition (as the 1910 generation was replaced by the 1930s generation) differences in this indicator were minor. They appeared in the course of the development of the generations born in the 1930s: at the start of their labor careers they were virtually the same as those of their parents.

Increased employment in information-type jobs and in sociocultural services is legitimately related to the increased role of mental labor and, above all, labor requiring secondary specialized and higher training. That is why a lowering of the percentage held by the simplest skills among members of the generation born in the 1950s resulted, in the first stage of their labor

careers, in an increased of more complex physical and mental work. Increased employment in mental work by this generation even outstripped complexity in physical work. The percentage of workers engaged in mental work in the initial socioprofessional structure of employment of contemporary young people (taking students into consideration) was higher by a factor of 1.3 than the respective indicators of the final, the "peak" structure of employment of their parents (38 percent as against 30 percent). Employment in complex physical work by this generation was higher compared to that of the parental generation by no more than 20 percent (49 as against 42 percent).

A quarter of a century ago, when the fathers and mothers of today's young people began work, their breakdown by occupation of different complexity was distinguished by that of their parents only by the higher percentage of complex physical toil. As to mental work, its popularity at the beginning of the careers of the generation born in the 1930s was virtually the same as that of the 1910s in terms of the highest accomplishments. Whereas the intragenerational mobility of the 1930 population was marked by extended employment in mental labor to a level at which its popularity equaled that of the simplest physical labor, the next intragenerational transition from the said generation to young people by the turn of the 1980s led to a situation in which the number of workers engaged in mental labor doubled that of workers employed in the simplest types of physical work. The subsequent stages in socioprofessional development, based on the intragenerational processes in the course of the life of the present young generation, will unquestionably reduce the share of simple unskilled labor even further.

A real change in the trends of professional mobility among the current youth unquestionably reflects the overall changes in the socioprofessional dynamics of the 1980s and 1990s compared with the 1950s and 1970s. Currently and within the foreseeable future priority is given to changes determined by the development of the economy from industrial to scientific-industrial output. More jobs will open in professions dealing with services and information and in those requiring complex and particularly complex mental work.

A comparison between such generations is important not only because of the possibility which appears of describing the overall trend and overall content of the process of socioeconomic development. Such comparison enables us to assess the pace of such a development, and quantitatively to define the changes which arise in the transition from one generation to another or in the course of the life a single generation. In order for such an assessment to be uniform it would be expedient to use a summing up indicator which will give us an idea of the overall size of differences in the socioprofessional structure of compared generations (or couples of comparable periods within the life of a single generation).

The combined indicator of differences between compared multiple-element characteristics, which include a number of indicators describing the socioprofessional structure is the distance between these multiple-element characteristics in a multidimensional spatial feature in which they develop a kind of vectorial points. Since the significance of the considered consolidated socioprofessional groups is approximately the same, it would be



sensible to choose the so-called hemming distance as a yardstick of the distance between vectorial points.

In the case when differences are measured between vectors which reflect the socioprofessional structure depicted in terms of percentage (i.e., normed) values, the computation of such differences could be simplified by attributing it a form in which the social content of the determined differences is clearly visible. To this effect it suffices to single out within the couple of compared generations the socioprofessional groups whose percentage, within the structure of latest generation, proves to be higher than in the preceding one and then establish the percentage by which the increasing groups of the subsequent generation are superior to the respective categories of the preceding one. The same result could be obtained by comparing the diminishing groups.

The simplest means of such computations are illustrated by data indicating the correlation among socioprofessional categories describing the complexity of the work (see Table 2).

Table 2. Changes in the Share of People Employed in Various Types of Work in a Transition from One Generation to Another

Profession	1910s generation at the end of its labor career	1930s generation at the beginning of its labor career (including students)	Increase (+) or decrease (-) share	1930s generation at the end of its labor career	1950s generation at the beginning of its labor career (including students)	Increase (+) or decrease (-) share
Simple physical labor	52	38	-14	29	16	-13
Complex physical labor	27	41	+14	41	46	+ 5
Simple mental labor	6	7	+ 1	7	11	+ 4
Complex mental labor	15	14	- 1	23	27	+ 4

As Table 2 shows, no less than 15 percent of the 1930s generation and 13 percent of the 1950s generation belonged to different categories in terms of the complexity of their work compared to their parents. The indicators characterize minimal differences between related pairs of generations of the 1910s and 1930s and the 1930s and 1950s.

In terms of its meaning, the percentage indicates the distinction existing between the generation of the children and that of the parents. Naturally, it is a question of an extreme measure expressing not shifts as a whole but their minimal, their lowest level. However, in terms of a relative yardstick which indicates the acceleration or slowdown of changes, the minimal level could be

as useful as the full characterization of the socioprofessional differences. Furthermore, in terms of some processes, in which the minimal extent of differences reaches substantial values, it assumes not only a relative but also a direct, an absolute meaning. For what is clearly described by the minimal characteristics does not contradict in the least the conclusions obtained on the basis of the full measurements.

A comparison between the minimal value of socioprofessional disparities which arise in generational transitions of the 50s and the 1970s, i.e., between the 1910 and 1930 generations and the 1930 and 1950 generations is indicative. A simple computation based on Table 2 indicates that this value remained practically unchanged for the last quarter of the century. It amounts to 13-15 percent in terms of work difficulty, 20 percent in terms of the material content of labor and 17-19 percent in terms of the complexity and the material content of labor, if it is a question of differences between the initial and final and socioprofessional status. Correspondingly, the figures are 22-23 percent; 18 percent; and 24-25 percent in terms of comparing the initial or only the final positions of the generations under consideration.

These figures indicate that at the present stage no less than 25 percent of each subsequent generation belongs to a different socioprofessional environment and is under the influence of different socioprofessional factors compared to the preceding generation. Actually, that part of the generation whose socioprofessional affiliation is significantly different from that of its parents is higher than the minimal value and, obviously, accounts for one-third to one-half of the generation. There is a striking durability of unionwide indicators which characterize intergenerational shifts among the recent decades, which allows us to claim that the high socioprofessional mobility of generations is legitimate in the contemporary development of our society. Its scale will not be reduced in the foreseeable future. We should rather expect its further expansion. It is true that this increase is not felt somewhat noticeably when we compare the socioprofessional structure of the wartime, postwar and contemporary generations. In both generational transitions under consideration the percentage of individuals distinguished in terms of their socioprofessional status from the position of the parents remains more or less the same. We should take into consideration, however, that in the past in changes between the war and the postwar generations the influence of additional extraeconomic circumstances was quite noticeable. The effect of these circumstances has come to an end, for which reason in the future the trend toward the broadening of socioprofessional changes accompanying the shift of generations will be manifested in its entirety.

Awareness of the scale of socioprofessional differences among generations is of prime importance in understanding the problems which face our society. Naturally, the socialist system creates opportunities for the preservation of the continuity of cultural, moral and conceptual values better than those previously available. Continuity, however, is always related to developments and change and the possibility of preserving continuity is not automatic in the least. The fact that today the socioprofessional structure of the subsequent generation is noticeably different from that of the preceding one is one of the prerequisites which make the appearance of certain differences in the way of life of parents and children inevitable.

The fact that a comparison among generations appears more clearly than a comparison among average figures pertaining to the entire employed population explains the overall trend of the socioprofessional development and its pace and, at the same time, characterizes more precisely the different nature of the contemporary stage, which is of importance not only in order to gain a retrospective understanding. In the final account, it is always the base of forecasts. In this sense, the concept of the present socioprofessional trends offers a base for developing views on socioprofessional problems which will arise in the future, the more so if this concept applies to trends which are merely developing and gathering strength in the course of the scientific and technical revolution, for which reason they will remain relevant over a rather long period of time.

The actual structure of the individual age cohorts is a prototype of the future socioprofessional composition of the employed population as a whole (actually, it is a question of the specific application of the method of forecasting based on models in which specific age cohorts act as prototypes for the future). The study intensifies the substantiation of forecasts based on intergenerational comparisons. This combination helps us to avoid the automatic extrapolation and the danger which develops in efforts to structure forecasts on the basis of simply "an extension" of contemporary trends. In this sense it is consistent with the social requirement for reliable economic and social forecasts the urgency of which was reemphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress (2, p 168).

The possibility of singling out age cohorts, which enables us, to a certain extent, to anticipate the future, is based on the fact that in industrially developed countries usually the features of the composition of the employed population in its average age group (30-40) usually turns out more or less similar to the overall (averaged for the entire population) indicators. The structure of the workers in said age groups reflects, so to say, the median results of the effect of factors and trends which determine within a specific segment of time the percentage of individual occupations.

Nevertheless, the socioprofessional structure of such workers can be roughly forecast on the basis of 10-year periods. The correlation among occupations of different difficulty and material content, which develop at youth, makes it possible to determine many of the ratios which will prevail in the socioprofessional structure of the generation in the subsequent stages of its labor career. Some of these ratios show minor changes in the course of the labor career of the generation. In the case of the 1930s generation (the only generation about which more or less complete data exists concerning intragenerational mobility) it remained approximately the same over a 20-year period in terms of the share of workers engaged in difficult physical and auxiliary mental work and the share of those employed in industry. The other correlations—the majority of them—changed in the course of the professional development of the generation. However, the trends followed in such changes can be determined by comparing the alternating generations or the youth socioprofessional structure with the average indicators pertaining to the entire employed population. The socioprofessional structure of this generation in its youth could (with some correction) be used as a base for a



rough evaluation of its structure once it has reached middle-age and, consequently, for the entire employed population for the next 10-15 years.

The accuracy of this assumption is confirmed by a comparison between the socioprofessional structure of the 1930s population, aged 20-29, on the one hand, and the average indicators of the period of the end of the 1950s and, on the other, the indicators of the structure of the same generation as well as the entire population after a decade, at the turn of the 1970s, when that young generation reached the ages of 30-39 (see Table 3). By the end of the

Table 3. Socioprofessional Structure of Young People, People of Middle Age and the Entire Employed Population in the 1950s and 1960s  
% of the Number of the Entire Population and Young People

Employment Category	Total Employed population, end of 1950s	Young people at the end of 1950s (employed 20-29 age group)**	Middle-aged, end of 1960s (employed 30-39 year old)	Total employed population, end of 1960s
Different in terms of nature and complexity of labor, including employment such as:				
Simple physical labor	52	38	27	35
Complex physical and mental-physical labor	29	41	43	38
Simple mental labor	4	7	8	4
Complex mental labor	15	14	22	23
Differences in terms of material content of labor, including the following types of labor:				
Agriculture	38	32	23	23
Industrial	42	49	47	48
Information	7	7	10	10
Services	9	10	13	14
Organizational	4	2	7	5

\* Note: Table based on (6-12).

\*\* The breakdown of young people by category of labor complexity based on future socioprofessional employment of the students.

1950s, in terms of most parameters the socioprofessional structure of the young generation among the employed population was much more similar to the structure of workers in the middle-age group within the employed population of the end of the 1960s and even to the average indicators which characterized the population of that time as a whole. Some changes which were found in comparing the structure of young people with that of the entire population of the 1950s were manifested more clearly 10 years later. This applies, above all, to a diminution in the number of difficult professions and jobs related to agricultural, mental and unskilled physical labor.

Data on the youth structure of the end of the 1970s and their comparison with the general indicators for that period enable us to judge of the basic features of the socioprofessional structure of middle-aged workers and of the entire employed population by the turn of the 1990s (see Table 4). In all likelihood, approximately one half of the working population will be employed in industry or engaged in complex physical and mental-physical work. The share of individuals engaged in agricultural and simple physical toil will be reduced further and will decline among the present youth. Obviously, in the respective professions at a time when such workers will be between 30 and 39 years of age, they would hardly account for more than 10 percent. It is particularly this figure that should be considered as typical of future average indicators. Conversely, the number of professions involving mental work will continue to grow, so that their share, considered as a starting point in determining the socioprofessional structure of contemporary youth will account for 40 percent 10 to 15 years hence. In particular, the share of professions of the information type and those related to sociocultural and consumer services will increase: judging by youth data, 30-40 percent of the labor force will be employed in these areas.

Naturally, the accuracy of these forecasts should not be overestimated. They allow us to judge of the extent of the figures characterizing the most important socioprofessional ratios for the next decade. However, even approximate evaluations of such ratios are of substantial interest, for they allow us to achieve the main targets of virtually all quantitative prognostication of phenomena occurring in social life: the definition of the objective limits within which possible changes may occur in social processes during a given period and the problems which will most likely be encountered by society in the course of their development (13).

The correlation between the basic socioprofessional categories, anticipated for the beginning of the 1990s, is quite indicative. It confirms, above all, that the foundations of a socioprofessional structure consistent with the trends of scientific and technical progress are being laid in the country. Worker skills, primarily of an industrial nature, acquired by approximately one half of the employed population and the involvement of more than one third of the working people in professions involving complex mental work, employment of an information type and in services confirm the shaping of macroproportions in the socioprofessional structure which are consistent with the requirements of the conversion from industrial to developing scientific-industrial output.

It is true that foreign experience proves that in order to ensure the successful development of the scientific and technical revolution changes in some ratios of the socioprofessional structure should take place at a faster pace. In the majority of developed countries nearly one half of all workers are employed in information and service jobs; 40 percent are in industry and approximately 5 percent in agriculture (14). A more detailed study leaves no doubt of the need for the accelerated development of a number of professional groups within the various socioprofessional categories, particularly in the case of professions needed ?in the case of automation and computer-saturation types of output (6, pp 125-136).

**Socioprofessional Structure of the Entire Population, Young People,  
and People of Middle-Age by the End of the 1970s and the Likely Breakdown  
of the Population by Basic Socioprofessional Categories in the 1990s  
% of the Size of the Employed Population by Age Group**

Employment Category	Entire employed population, end of 1970s	Youth at end of 1970s (working people 20-29 year group)**	Likely change in the number of basic socioprofessional categories within the 1950s generation by the turn of the 1990s	Approximate evaluation of the percentage of socioprofessional categories of the 1950s generation in their 30-39- year age group
<b>Differences by nature and complexity of labor including those engaged in:</b>				
Simple physical labor	29	16	reduction	10-15
Complex physical and mental-physical labor	41	46	no essential changes	45-50
Simple mental labor	5	11	absence of essential changes or slight reduction	5-10
Complex mental labor	25	27	increase	30-35
<b>Differences in material content of labor, including following types of work:</b>				
Agricultural	18	13	reduction	about 10
Industrial	51	53	no essential changes or reduction	about 50
Information	12	13	increase	15-20
Services	14	16	increase	15-20
Organizational	5	5	some increase	over 5

\* Remark: Table computed on the basis of (6-12).

\*\* Breakdown of young people by category, distinguished by the complexity of the work, in accordance with the future socioprofessional jobs of students of the respective age group.

However, it is not a question of disproportions of a radical nature. Forecasts based on the current youth structure is valuable by confirming the fact that the already attained level of development of the socioprofessional structure leads to the shaping within the foreseeable future of the essential socioprofessional prerequisites for the radical reorganization of the national economy on the basis of the scientific and technical revolution. Nevertheless, considered from a somewhat different viewpoint, that same forecast is an indicator of the grave problems which must be solved by society in the course of its conversion to a highly efficient economy.



The socioprofessional structure in which skilled industrial and information jobs predominate, with a high percentage of complex mental work, is a necessary but by no means sufficient prerequisite for the establishment of a developed industrial and scientific-industrial type of production. Without an adequate reorganization of professional relations and economic management mechanism, changes in the socioprofessional structure, like all changes in equipment and technology which develop under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution, will fail to yield actual economic results. Disparities in socioeconomic processes (or, rather, among the various aspects of the single socioeconomic process) may lead to a situation in which legitimate--necessary and progressive--changes in the socioprofessional structure of society are not accompanied by any whatsoever significant enhancement of labor productivity. Furthermore, in themselves the unquestionably positive socioprofessional changes, becoming isolated, will turn out to be sources of grave socioeconomic problems. Changes in the socioprofessional ratios in such cases would be not only useless but even harmful, for they could bring about destructive consequences.

The trends of socioprofessional development are objective and relatively independent, for which reason in this case breakdowns are particularly dangerous.

The forthcoming increase in the share of industrial-type and service jobs and of mental labor is irreversible. What is important, however, is something else. The forecast of the socioprofessional structure based on data on the young generation enables us as of now to anticipate the appearance of rather difficult problems in various areas of social life. One of them is the reproduction of manpower in the countryside.

Our forecast indicates that agricultural employment, in which currently some 20 percent of all working people are concentrated, will barely cover more than 10 percent of the working population in the next decade. The size of the employed population in the years to come will change insignificantly, for which reason a drop in the percentage of such employment will result in a drop in the absolute number of workers engaged in agricultural work by approximately a factor of 1.5-2. Without a radical increase in agricultural labor productivity, this progressive change in the professional-sectorial breakdown of workers may lead to a major aggravation of the food problem.

Actually, it is precisely in the light of data on the further lowering of agricultural employment that a realistic assessment of the scale of the tasks facing the Food Program and the development of the agroindustrial complex as a whole is possible. Even if the increase in labor productivity in agricultural skills is doubled, the problem will remain essentially unsolved. Considering such a growth and the likely reduction of employment, at best, the present situation will be retained. In other words, it is only the acceleration of economic development and the more than doubled growth of labor productivity that would enable us to solve the food problem in full. Legitimately, the CPSU considers ensuring conditions for radically upgrading the efficiency of the agroindustrial complex, one of the strategic trends of socioeconomic policy for the 1980s (2, pp 30-144).

Some other conclusions related to the generational forecast confirm the need for a comprehensive restructuring of the economy on the basis of the acceleration of socioeconomic development. Judging by the socioprofessional structure of young people by the turn of the 1980s, over the next decade 30 percent of the people will hold jobs related to skilled mental work; 20 percent will hold information-related jobs. Such changes in the distribution of social labor are a major prerequisite in shaping the overall manpower which can make intensive use of the achievements of the latest stage in the scientific and technical revolution. Within the framework of the scientific-industrial output developing at that stage a tremendous increase in the share of mental and information-type jobs will have a profoundly functional significance: it will be one of the conditions for a radical increase in national economic efficiency and in the wealth of society. We could consider as positive even a certain faster growth of employment in skilled mental and information professions compared with the overall economic upsurge, for such a faster development will create a kind of "base" for a future uneven progress.

However, the disparity in this case should not be excessive. Unless the increased share of mental and information-type work is not paralleled at the proper time with a restructuring of the other aspects of the economy, a situation may develop in which the socioprofessional structure consistent with a type of scientific-industrial type of output may find itself "locked" within a production process which has remained on the level of the previous technical and technological level. The tremendous potential of mental and information labor which, as a generational forecast proves, will develop at the turn of the 1990s, finding itself within such a type of production process which has not been as yet reorganized by the scientific and technical revolution, will become not a booster of growth but a factor which will involve an excessive percentage of the population engaged in traditional worker and peasant jobs. The scarcity of cadres in such professions will intensify and parallel phenomena will become aggravated, such as disparities between the principle of wages based on labor in accordance with its quantity, complexity and quality, and the need to tolerate violations of discipline and increased cadre turnover.

It would be naive to consider that problems, the gravity of which is emphasized by the generational forecast of the socioprofessional structure could be solved by slowing down the growth of skilled mental jobs or by artificially supporting a large number of workers in agriculture and other traditional professions involving physical labor. Ignoring some skills and isolated cases in which such actions could be considered justified, the effort to break down stable and legitimate trends is bound to fail. In this case success itself would mean, in the final account, a delay of progress and maintaining the production process on the level preceding the scientific and technical revolution. The party offers another solution: achieving a qualitatively new social status through the successful acceleration of socioeconomic progress (2, p 140).

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## PORTRAIT OF THE SOVIET SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INTELLIGENTSIA

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[Text] The implementation of the task of acceleration is inseparably related to science. The material and technical base, the organization and planning of research and development and the system for encouraging the labor of scientists and applied activities need drastic improvements. Corresponding steps must be taken above all to energize the human factor in science and to create optimal conditions for creative research and for upgrading specialists' output.

Occasionally the concepts of "scientific intelligentsia" and "scientific-technical intelligentsia" are treated synonymously in publications. In our view, this is erroneous. The latter is broader than the former and covers both scientists and scientific workers as well as technical specialists (engineers and technicians). For today science is performing not only cognitive but also constructive (application) functions. Whereas the current number of scientific workers is 1,426,000 people, the size of the entire detachment of the scientific and technical intelligentsia has reached 2.5 million (1, pp 386-400). In terms of the number of people employed (over 4.5 million) science and scientific services are among the leading economic sectors. The number of scientific cadres has increased at the fastest possible pace over the past 25 years. Compared with 1960, by 1983 it had increased by 406.5 percent, whereas total employment in the national economy had increased by 187.8 percent. The number of specialists with higher and

secondary specialized training working in science is increasing as well. Compared with 1960, they have increased by 391.6 percent (1, pp 94, 386, 400; 2).

Depending on their area of application of mental labor and the nature of professional activities, the following detachments may be singled out among the scientific and technical intelligentsia: 1. Scientists, who are the nucleus of this socioprofessional group. This includes essentially academicians and corresponding members of all academies of sciences, professors and doctors and candidates of sciences; 2. Scientific workers (without scientific degree) in academic and sectorial institutes and organizations, VUZ research departments, scientific-production associations (NPO) and scientific and technical collectives (NTK); 3. Technical specialists: engineers and technicians in academic, sectorial and plant scientific research institutes and other subunits engaged in information, design-engineering and application work in the scientific process; 4. Junior scientific and technical personnel: associates in scientific research institutes and other organizations engaged in laboratory and various auxiliary operations servicing the scientific process.

The scientific and technical intelligentsia could be classified on the basis of several other features as well: scientific sector, scientific and technical specialty, stage of scientific cycle (basic or applied work, application of scientific achievements), areas of occupation (academies of sciences, VUZs, sectorial scientific institutions, design, engineering and technological organizations, or scientific-production associations), level of skill, etc. The main differentiating feature in the professional structure of scientific and technical cadres is the object-topic nature of their work. It is regulated by state statistical authorities on the basis of the list of scientific skills. Presently, the latter includes about 600 specialties in 25 scientific sectors.

From the theoretical viewpoint, the scientific and technical intelligentsia is a single socioprofessional community. However, the statistical authorities are still avoiding this concept and using the term "scientific workers." Yet party, including congressional, documents have used the expression scientific and technical intelligentsia for the past 15 years. Correspondingly, in statistical data said detachment of the intelligentsia does not include specialists in scientific-production associations or the hundred-thousand strong detachment of postgraduates—future scientists and researchers. In our view, we must develop within the shortest possible time a system of criteria and indicators which would suitably reflect the socioprofessional structure of the scientific and technical intelligentsia and, on this basis, make a union-wide census of scientific workers and technical specialists employed in science. Such a step would enable us to determine more accurately the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of said group.

Without denying the significance of social statistics, let us note that it does not allow us to judge quite clearly about all the factors involved in scientific activities. In this connection, let us consider the results of the sociological study which was conducted in 1981 and 1985 by the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI sector of the social development of the intelligentsia, headed by

this author. The overall number included more than 150,000 scientific associates, research engineers and engineering and technical personnel, including 5,500 doctors of sciences, 20,000 candidates of sciences, 500 corresponding members and academicians of the Academy of Sciences and the academies of pedagogical and medical sciences of the USSR and union republics. The selected total of those surveyed exceeded 7,000 people. The survey was conducted in the academic institutions, leading scientific research institutes and scientific organizations of several industrial sectors. Also included in the survey were data provided by the USSR Central Statistical Administration, and documents of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, the AUCCTU and party bodies. In addition to especially stipulated cases, data of both studies are provided in this article.

The most important factor in productive work is satisfaction with the job. According to the studies, more than one half of the scientific associates, engineers and technicians were dissatisfied with their work. This assessment remained actually unchanged within the 5-year period. The dissatisfaction was caused by the availability of equipment and condition of work places, narrowness of premises, industrial noise and availability of office equipment. As we may surmise, it is essentially a question of conditions, the improvement of which greatly depends on the collectives themselves and on the science management authorities.

These circumstance were largely the reason for the fact that about one half of those surveyed do not work at full capacity. Yet another reason exists, however. Most specialists with higher skills are forced to do auxiliary technical work themselves and more than one third of them have to do this day after day. There is one technician per five engineers and one laboratory assistant per seven scientific workers. Such is the present ratio in the collectives we studied. This disproportion between scientific associates and highly skilled technical specialists, on the one hand, and scientific-auxiliary personnel, on the other, is growing steadily as a result of the reduction of personnel, mainly the number of technical workers.

The scientific and technical information system is a major factor in scientific efficiency. Its purpose is systematically and efficiently to provide scientific collectives with data concerning domestic and foreign scientific and technical accomplishments and progressive experience. However, for the time being this system is unsatisfactory. Only 16.9 percent of scientific associates and technical specialists in Moscow, 19.6 percent in Kiev and 29.7 percent in Novosibirsk consider that the information they receive is obtained promptly. About one half of those surveyed are not entirely satisfied with major aspects of scientific services, such as accessibility and completeness of materials and means of their retrieval and storage. About one third give a positive rating to the quality of information on the achievements of domestic science and technology and 20 percent assess the quality of foreign information adequate.

The practice of the utilization of scientific achievements most directly affects satisfaction with the work. The satisfaction index of those who consider the organization of practical utilization adequate was 0.7, compared



with 0.3 of negative assessments. It is noteworthy that the higher the level of labor activeness in scientific collectives, the greater the dissatisfaction with the application mechanism becomes.

What motivates scientific associates, engineers and technicians in their work? The dominant features are socially significant motivations and orientation toward the meaning of their work (see Table 1). Such an interested attitude is supported by a significant creative potential and solid professional training (see Table 2).

Table 1. Motivations for Labor Activity, Percent of Respondents\*

Do you consider your work... Point	YES	SOMEWHAT	NO	POINT AVERAGE
Average				
Consistent with the needs of society	77.1	10.3	3.6	1.3
Requires high skills	67.7	20.5	11.8	1.4
Corresponds to individual knowledge and capabilities	65.6	26.7	8.7	1.4
Interesting	61.4	31.9	6.7	1.5
Responsible	56.5	33.0	10.5	1.5
Consistent with personal interests	54.9	30.8	14.3	1.6
Demands extensive mental stress	51.9	35.9	12.2	1.6
Prestigious	24.1	41.3	34.6	2.1
Well paid	17.2	30.7	52.1	2.4

\* Respondents were given several choices

Table 2. Some Characteristics of Labor Activities of  
of Scientific and Technical Cadres, % of Respondents

Specialist Group	Speeches at scientific conferences	Type and Results of Activities				
		Publications in specialized literature	Authorship certificates for inventions and discoveries	Application of rationalization suggestions and inventions	Requests for inventions and discoveries	Diplomas and medals of competi- tion winners
Doctors of sciences	100.0	100.0	27.3	18.2	27.3	30.8
Candidates of sciences	95.1	91.2	34.8	24.0	25.0	20.1
Specialists without scientific degree	35.1	38.3	11.7	12.2	11.7	7.1
Average for the three groups	51.6	52.8	18.2	16.5	15.3	10.9

However, in order to make successful use of the respective opportunities efficient management must be organized. Yet only 20 percent of those surveyed believe that the existing planning system is such as to ensure the rhythmical

activity of scientific collectives. Only one third of the respondents noted that their organizations use contemporary methods in planning scientific research. The assessments reflected both real shortcomings as well as the increased critical nature of their views (a feature quite typical of a scientist). Something else is equally unquestionable: creative activeness would have been higher and the planning mechanism more efficient had specialists become more involved in planning. The situation in this case, for the time being, is as follows: more than one half of those surveyed do not participate in the formulation and discussion of plans for scientific research and for the socioeconomic development of the collective; many of them are simply unfamiliar with the latter. Responsibility for shortcomings in this area is assigned by the respondents above all to the administration and the party and social organizations. Generally speaking, the specialists' view their activities in managing collectives quite harshly (see Table 3). What is amazing, however, is that the managers on different levels themselves are rated quite highly. It is true that a positive characterization was given above all to their professional training. Their subordinates show a lesser satisfaction with their organizational capabilities and personal qualities.

These data lead us to believe that scientific cadres promoted to managerial positions must be properly trained. It would be expedient to set up an all-union center for the training and retraining of such specialists. Such an institution should, in our view, be under the jurisdiction of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

Table 3. Assessment of the Activities of Management of Scientific Collectives, % of Answers\*

Management Authority	Performing Their Functions	
	Satisfactorily	Unsatisfactorily
Scientific council	50-58	15-19
Administration	31-55	11-38
Party committee (party buro)	29-54	6-28
Local committee	14-54	22-39
Komsomol committee	16-39	17-30

\* Totals are less than 100 percent, for some respondents had no clear view on the questions asked.

Table 4. Satisfaction With Relations Within Scientific Collectives (average based on a 3-point rating system)

Attitude	Academic Science Research Institutes	Design-Engineering Organizations	Sectorial Subunits	Total Array
With colleagues	2.4-2.5	2.4-2.6	2.4-2.5	2.4-2.5
With immediate superiors	2.3-2.4	2.3-2.5	2.1-2.4	2.3-2.4
With the administration	2.3	2.0	2.2-2.4	2.2
With subordinates	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.7

The development of a democratic style of management, the broad exchange of ideas and the active involvement of members of the collective in discussing and solving production problems play an important role in perfecting management. According to results obtained so far, the most widespread in scientific collectives are the authoritarian and the liberal types of management. No more than one half of those surveyed noted that the members of the administration display responsiveness and sensitivity and listen to the opinions, suggestions and recommendations of subordinates. This largely explains the fact that criticism is still poorly developed in the collectives which were studied. No more than 65 percent of the respondents deem it possible publicly to criticize rank-and-file personnel; in the case of heads of departments, groups and sectors, and Komsomol and trade union workers, the indicator drops to the 50 percent level and in principle only about one-third of the respondents expressed a frank opinion on the activities of heads of scientific establishments and institutes. The question "this year have you addressed any critical remarks in your collective?" was answered in the affirmative by 10 to 20 percent of the respondents; 80 to 90 percent of those surveyed either answered in the negative or abstained.

But here is a curious fact worthy of consideration. The respondents rate quite critically many aspects of the activities of scientific collectives. Nevertheless, as a whole, they provide a positive characterization of the sociopsychological climate (see Table 4). Approximately one-third of the respondents were not entirely satisfied with it. Incidentally, managers should take into consideration and make use in their practices of the conclusions of psychologists. All other conditions being equal, satisfaction would upgrade the efficiency of scientific work by 15 percent whereas an adverse atmosphere in the collective would lower productivity by one-third in a number of cases.

Finally, so far science was believed to be a sector with high personnel stability. Today, however, here as well the problem of turnover is developing. So far, compared with other economic sectors, turnover here is low. However, the data of our study confirm an increase in its potential mobility. Thus, about one half of those surveyed would like to change jobs and 15 percent of them would like to leave science altogether and as many would like to teach; 20 percent intend to transfer to other institutes working on similar topics. No more than one-sixth of the respondents were in favor of their children to follow the path of the parents, i.e., to become scientists. These results were obtained in 1981. Five years later we noted an increase in potential turnover. These data prove that the prestige of scientific work among scientific associates and technical specialists is declining. The reasons for this situation differ. Essentially, however, those named by the respondents are the following: dissatisfaction with relations within the collective and with conditions and organizations of scientific work and with the system of material and moral incentive, as well as inadequate opportunities for job advancement.

How can we increase the creative output of scientific collectives? We believe that it would be expedient to formulate a long-term comprehensive target program which would coordinate the actions of the various administrative authorities within science and their numerous subdivisions. In this case the



sociologists as well could formulate specific initiatives and suggestions. Why not restore within the limits of the socialist competition all-union or republic competitions for the development of new systems of machines, technologies and items? Such measures were successfully applied in the 1930s.

Let us point out another important aspect. All economic sectors have their own publications and their personnel have their trade unions. It is only science, which is a major economic complex, numbering almost 5 million working people, which has neither. Yet the exchange of information and the extensive discussion of vital problems are mandatory prerequisites for fruitful activities by scientists and specialists. In our view, a weekly, which could be named NAUCHNAYA ZHIZN, for example, should be published. It would become the collective organizer and propagandist for radically leading the scientific and technical intelligentsia on the path of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. We should also think of establishing a separate trade union of workers in the sciences and in scientific institutions.

The new major problems which must be solved by science and the complex processes developing within this area require paying constant attention to the activities of scientists and specialists and the maximally full utilization of the social factors promoting its efficiency.

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## STRUCTURE OF READERS' PREFERENCES

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[Text] In the first years of the Soviet system, when the broad popular masses were being taught literacy, within a single decade studies of readers' interests developed into an autonomous area of applied sociology (1). The "paper boom" which began in the mid-1960s drew the close attention of sociologists to the preferences of library books borrowers (2). A selective survey conducted at that time indicated that 61,000 of each 200,000 volumes had never been requested by readers and that about 1 billion of the 3.3 billion volumes of books available in public libraries were a "dead weight" (3). This is not the only consequence of the purchasing of books. Unforeseen changes could take place in the immediate future in the activities of publishing houses and in the situation on the book market. In order to have an idea of expected changes or, rather, their scale, we must know the current nature of the interest of readers and population purchases. Unfortunately, studies which would enable us to obtain such information are not being conducted due to the absence of a model of all-union representative selection. We tried to find a solution by using complex methods and even assumptions directly tested in the course of our study. Let us immediately point out that this applies to a descriptive sounding which quickly revealed a circle of interrelated problems more than their reasons. In our view, the obtained results could be useful in subsequent analytical studies.

It is not the interest of the readership that is the strict base for book purchasing. The range of reasons for buying a given book is quite wide. As Table 1 shows, the multiple functions of a book purchased depend not only on the fact that it is of a certain genre or belongs to a given type of

literature. A specific book could perform several functions, ranging from aesthetic-cognitive to prestige-hedonistic. Along with them, it would be relevant, in our view, as far as urban residents are concerned, to mention yet another function of books--ecological. The point is that according to the survey, 75 percent of urban residents read books at home (in the evening, as a rule), and approximately 34 percent while commuting to their jobs. In frequent cases the reason is to "turn oneself out," to relax, to reduce stress. Naturally, this purpose does not exclude the other functions of books.

From the viewpoint of book purchasing, the specific reason for book purchases is not all that important. Whatever the circumstances, a purchasing "explosion" disturbs the balance between supply and demand and entails phenomena which exceed the range of specific readership interests. The book becomes a form of accumulation of monetary capital for the population, a kind of fictitious prestige in the hierarchy of social values. The market-place laws of price setting are gradually assuming a dominant position in publishing. Finally, the possibility develops of the appearance of negative elements in the process of socialization of the individual through distribution relations alien to the principles of socialism, phenomena which we shall consider later on.

Between 1960 and 1984 the annual production of books and pamphlets in the country increased by a factor of 1.7. Within that period more than 40 billion copies of books were published although the stock of public libraries rose insignificantly, by less than 2 billion. Consequently, the majority of the books found their place in private libraries (4). According to specialists of the All-Union Scientific Research Press Institute, starting with the second half of the 1970s, every year the population purchased more than 70 percent of the produced book output (5). In other words, home libraries, most of which were set up over the past 25 years (in 1965 only 8 percent of people, even among skilled workers, owned a total of more than 100 books (6)), now number more than 30 billion volumes. This is a huge amount, particularly if we bear in mind that in 1981 the total number of volumes of all public libraries combined did not exceed 4.7 billion (Ibid).

The number of books in the home libraries of our respondents averaged 290, as follows: 260 in the age group under 30 and 350 in the 30-year or older-age group. Similar data were cited by other researchers (Ibid). As to socioprofessional categories, the situation varies greatly: the percentage of people with private libraries and the number of books they own vary greatly depending on group affiliation (Table 2).

Let us note that the material possibilities<sup>2</sup> and, therefore, the independence in the selection and purchasing of books by contemporary young people (including adolescents) are much higher than among the members of the senior generation. That is why in the study of readers' interests, it mandatorily included students from the fifth to the tenth grades.

The pace at which home libraries increased among the young is double that of people over 30 (averaging 26 and 13 books annually, respectively). Assuming that the same indicators remain on the 1985 level, by the time the young



Table 1.

## Reason for Book Purchasing, Level

Type of Book *	"For Reading" **		For Work		For Self-Education		For Collection Purposes		For Children and Gifts	
	Under 30	Over 30	Under 30	Over 30	Under 30	Over 30	Under 30	Over 30	Under 30	Over 30
Fiction	1	1	7	8	7	7	2	2	2	3
Scientific	5	4	5	6	1	1	8	6	5	5
Political	6	7	4	4	2	2	4	9	10	8
Economic	10	9	6	5	4	4	6	6	9	10
Technical	8	8	3	2	5	5	8	8	6	6
Method	9	10	2	3	6	6	7	7	8	7
Reference	7	6	1	1	3	3	6	5	7	9
Subscription publications	3	3	8	7	8	8	1	1	4	4
For children	4	5	9	9	10	9	5	4	1	1
Science fiction adventure	2	2	10	10	9	9	3	3	3	2

\* In order to determine the structure of readers' interests and purchases more adequately here and subsequently the classification of the types of books is conventional, consistent with the way it was perceived ordinarily. This, in particular, explains the fact that "subscription publications" are indicated as a separate category.

\*\* Meaning reading as such, without any strictly defined utilitarian purposes.

generation has reached 40 (i.e., by the year 2000), its home library will average 680 books, which is twice the number owned by people currently 40 years of age. In order to ensure such growth rates of book consumption, the possibilities of publishing houses and presses must be increased by at least 50 percent. This, however, is merely an assumption. The real situation on the book market is indicating a considerable drop in demand for most types of literature. Figures 1-3 show the trends in changed demand based on data (orders) received by Soyuzkniga over the past 7 years.<sup>3</sup> We can clearly see a sharp decline (starting with 1981) of demand for fiction and science fiction and a drastic increase in demand for training-method and referential publications. These changes may be explained, possibly, but the greater "pragmatic" orientation of readers' interests, the reason for which is not well understood as yet. Be that as it may, we are witnessing a general drop in demand for publications, which, in the next 3 to 5 years, may lead to a crisis on the book market. By extrapolating the trend shown in figures 1 and 2 with the help of the simplest regression model,<sup>4</sup> it appears that demand will reach an average demand for fiction by 1989 and of science fiction by 1988. This may adversely affect the economic potential of publishing houses, many of which have now become dependent on the situation on the book market. We shall consider this dependence by taking as an example the data of the study of the nature of publications issued by Molodaya Gvardiya from 1956 to 1985 (Table 3).

Table 2.

Table 2.														
Respondents' Age, Library Data	Worker Grade 1-2	Worker Grade 3-4	Worker Grade 5-6	Data Characterizing the Acquisition of Home Libraries by Population Category, %, Copies										
				Service Industry Workers	Workers in Trade	Cab Drivers	Crop Growers, Livestock Breeders	Mechan- izers	Engineering- Technical Personnel	Teach- ers	VZ Teach- ers	Physi- cians	Scienti- fic Workers	Creative Workers
Respondents under 30														
Percentage with home libraries, %	73.8	76.8	79.0	74.6	79.7	51.5	52.7	43.0	87.1	90.9	87.7	86.5	92.9	97.5
Average number of books	170	180	235	205	260	260	90	80	290	365	400	400	390	420
Respondents over 30														
Share of home libraries, %	*	81.5	85.2	81.1	80.5	61.5	*	*	92.1	81.8	92.6	82.7	95.0	87.5
Average number of books	*	190	280	310	360	170	*	*	370	480	440	460	550	290

\* No information

Average publication (1,000 copies)

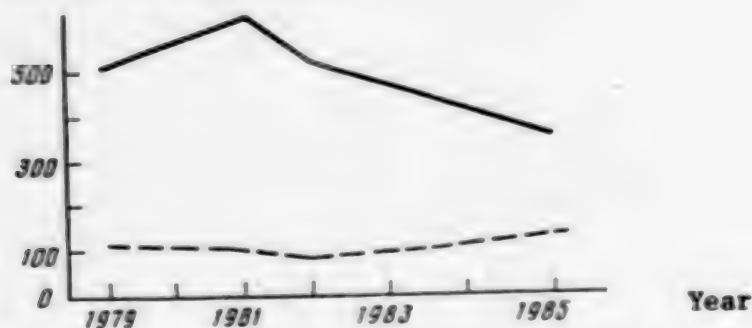


Figure 1. Changes in consumer demand for fiction. Here and subsequently the dotted line indicates the average actual publication of books; the solid line indicates the actual size of the edition ordered by Soyuzkniga.

Average publication (1,000 copies)

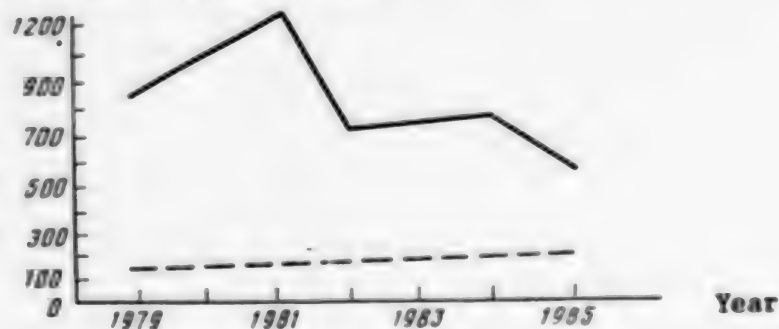


Figure 2. Changes in consumer demand for science fiction.

Average publication (1,000 copies)

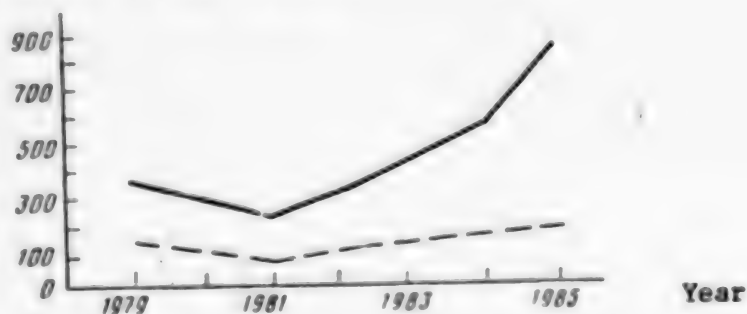


Figure 3. Changes in consumer demand for method, training and referential publications.



Table 3. Changes in the Average Percentage of Titles, Average Size of Publication and Average Cost of Books by 5-Year Periods From 1956 to 1985, %, kopeks

Year	Percentage of Titles	Average Size	Average Cost		Average Income from Book Sales
			Percent	Kopeks	
1956-1960	100	100	100	44	100
1961-1965	106	115	100	44	115
1966-1970	108	131	125	55	164
1971-1975	114	161	148	65	237
1976-1980	104	146	166	73	242
1981-1985	103	143	180	79	257

Table 4. Dynamics of Income From Book Sales with Actual Changes in Overall Size and Stable Price Level (Averaging 44 Kopeks per Title), %

Year	Total Income from Sales at 1956-1965 Prices	Average Annual Growth Rates of Income from Increased Size of Editions
1956-1960	110	0.0*
1961-1965	115	3.0
1966-1970	131	3.2
1971-1975	161	6.0
1976-1980	146	-3.0
1981-1985	143	-0.6

\* Arbitrary, as starting point.

As the table shows, the main impact on changes in income from book sales was not the increased number of titles but the increased size of publications and, particularly, the average price per title. The results of a computation of the coefficient of pair correlation was as follows: correlation between the increased number of titles and the growth of income: 0.3; between the increased average size of publication and increased income: 0.9; between increased average price and increased income: 1.0.

The average annual growth rates of the average price per title over the past 20 years was 3.2 percent. As a result, it has increased by 80 percent. Since, additionally, the average number of publications increased as well, the average annual growth rates of profits from book sales reached 5.2 percent for the period under consideration. Although in terms of 5-year periods this value has shown substantial differences (ranging from +1 to +14.6 percent), the balance of wholesale book trade has remained positive. Furthermore, over a 30-year period there has been a steady increased in the absolute income of publishing houses. Our estimates lead to the conclusion that, starting roughly with 1976, the positive income balance of Molodaya Gvardiya was due exclusively to the increased average price per volume. Thus, whereas from 1956 to 1965 income depended entirely on the number of books sold, subsequently it was ensured essentially thanks to the increased cost of books: between 1966 and 1979 the growth rates of income from higher prices showed an annual average of 6.6 percent; in the subsequent 5-year periods it averaged 8.6 percent, 4.0 percent and 3.6 percent respectively (based on Table 4 data).

Therefore, the publishing house is not interested in increasing the number of books or the number of titles of publications. Naturally, there is more to it than that. Obviously, the sharp increase in the solvent demand of the population and the lack of a sufficiently developed technological and material base for increasing book production and the possibility of replacing books with any other commodity were economic substantiations for increasing the prices of commodities in mass demand, including books.

In our view, these steps should be considered objective and positive from the viewpoint of economic policy but ideologically negative. The first question that arises is the following: Is a book a product at the expense of which the economy should cover its costs? On the other hand, reliance on higher prices is fraught with violations, including those of the economic balance, given a certain level of saturation of the market and changes in the structure of demand for publications.

Further possibilities for adding to home libraries remain although they are not all that substantial. According to our data, 21.3 percent of young people and 9.9 percent of people over 30 have no personal libraries. This indicator substantially varies based on the degree of urbanization. In the cities eight out of 10 families have their own libraries, compared with only 50 percent in the villages. Furthermore, the average number of books in home libraries in the rural population is fewer by a factor of 3.5 compared to private libraries in the cities. We may assume that as the countryside becomes urbanized demand for books here will increase. It is not excluded, however, that some of the books of home libraries will be sold. The oversaturation of the book market will adversely affect not only the economic potential of publishing houses but also the ethical aspect of the population. We must not forget that a book is not merely an object but a materialized spiritual potential and that its conversion into an object of speculation or recirculation indicates spiritual inflation.

Presently many books are in short supply. The fact that the scale of their resale by individual owners is equal to the volume of official book trade and, sometimes, even superior to it is confirmed by the studies made. Thus, 33.8 percent of adult respondents purchased books in the bookstore of the town or city where they live while 34.6 percent buy from other individuals. Even 8.8 percent of school students purchase books from speculators. Here as well we come across a contradiction between economic and ideological interests. From the economic viewpoint, particularly under conditions in which the growth rates of income of the citizens exceed the growth rates of labor productivity, clandestine trade is a covert form of price increases. By recirculating a commodity, speculation "draws" a relatively high percentage of the population's "surplus" cash, in exchange for which the purchaser obtains not an additional commodity but merely a service, consisting of the procuring activities of the speculator. From the ideological viewpoint this is a case of moral harm, for involving people in the speculative system (either as "sellers" or purchasers) leads to the shaping of elements of a commodity-market bourgeois morality.

Scarcity is not the only reason for speculation in books. Soyuzkniga bears a certain share of the blame. The insufficient consideration of readers' demand

and the absence in this organization of a scientific chart of areas of demand for corresponding publications (including specialized works) is confirmed by the fact that a large number of books are territorially redistributed. Our respondents who purchase books in other cities (during official assignments, when on leave, etc.), include 45.5 percent scientific workers, 34.6 percent physicians, 31.2 percent secondary school teachers, 29.1 percent members of creative professions, 26 percent of VUZ teachers, and 25.7 percent of engineering and technical personnel.

The readers' interests plays the most important role among the factors which predetermine the nature of changes in solvent demand. Our study considered 15 overall genres of publications. Table 5 shows data describing preference for one type of publication or another depending on the affiliation of the respondent (under 30) with a certain socioprofessional group. Novels hold a leading position in the readers' interests of young workers and workers in agriculture (among working youth in general). This is followed by crime novels and novellas, short stories, science fiction and history. Tales are quite popular. Clearly, this involves the existence of children in the family. Books on travel and poetry are respectively seventh and eighth in line.

Unfortunately, political, philosophical, economic, and popular science publications, memoirs and publicism remain virtually outside the readers' interests among working youth.

Among young workers in the service industry the most popular genres are those shared by the remaining groups. Noteworthy is the low interest in political, economic, philosophical and technical publications, publicism and memoirs.

The three leading positions in the structure of readers' interests among young intellectuals, regardless of their profession, are novels, novellas, short stories and science fiction. Interest in historical novels and poetry (particularly among physicians) memoirs (particularly among VUZ teachers) and popular sciences (particularly among secondary school teachers and young scientists) is higher than among workers and people in the service industry. Lesser preferences are expressed for political, philosophical, economic and technical publications and publicism.

The study of corresponding data by age group leads to the following conclusions: readers under the age of 16 are mostly interested in science fiction; between the ages of 17 and 30 priority is given to novels; between 31 and 60--mystery novels which take second and third place among respondents aged between 14 and 30; novellas, stories and mysteries are the favorite of those aged 31 to 45; science fiction and tales are preferred by the 46-60-age group (the period at which grandchildren appear). As a whole, interest in fairy tales is quite high (sixth-seventh) and remains stable). Between the ages of 17 and 30 interest in historical publications is higher after which it declines. The same trend appears in terms of poetry. Finally, regardless of age, interest in political, philosophical and economic publications and publicism remains quite low.



Most respondents prefer the classics. Works by foreign writers are preferred by 38.9 percent of people under 31; 38.2 percent of them prefer Russian classics and poetry; 36.2 percent prefer Soviet prose writers; 20.1 percent prefer Soviet and 11.6 percent foreign poets. Similar indicators were found among respondents aged 31-60, the respective figures being 44.6, 36, 34.3, 20.9 and 8.6 percent.

As a whole, Soviet and foreign literature enjoys equal demand among all categories of respondents with the exception of agricultural workers who prefer Soviet writers. The greatest interest in foreign fiction is among the members of the intelligentsia (the young in particular). A curious detail revealed in the study of readers' taste among rural women: their highest preference is for Soviet classics, compared to Russian or foreign.

As a rule, whenever a social problem becomes topical, the attention of the people in works reflecting such problems increases. Thus, our study showed a drastic increase of interest in works on topics of morality and law and, in young people, in books on the life of young families, including preparations for family life. Books on sports and problems related to human health enjoy great demand. However, there is little interest in works on labor exploits, shock construction projects, ideological and political upbringing and the shaping of economic standards among young people. Naturally, such fluctuations in interest cannot be explained merely in terms of topics: a well written work on sociopolitical problems would enjoy a good sale. Obviously, what is essential here is that in selecting its authors in this area the publishing house is less oriented toward talent and ability and more toward degree and title. In drafting publication plans and determining the size of publications and authors' honorariums, many of them are based on the principle of equalization rather than on stimulating the quality of output.

General changes in demand for books depend not only on changes in demand for individual varieties. Here an important role is also played by the presentation of the book. According to experts, a hard-cover book would be of 50 percent more interest to a purchaser than a paperback; a book whose dust jacket involves drawings and photographs would sell twice as much as one without.

As to prices, up to 1 ruble the price of a book is of no particular significance; should it cost more, the customer will consider the expediency of its purchase. The size of the book does not affect demand directly but rather through the price. In any case, books which exceed 10 printers' sheets (and, naturally, are more expensive) will be bought somewhat less frequently.

One of the methods for the study of readers' demand is the behavior of the customer in a bookstore. At this point, however, we must take two aspects into consideration. First, the structure of bookstore customers is distorted by the fact that many of them obtain their books by subscription while some use the services of the clandestine book market. Secondly, books sought in a store do not reflect the gradation of demand, which is entirely natural, for the store will not have "the most needed" book. Indeed, the greatest interest of the readers is in novels and books for children. However, according to the union-wide survey of 4,031 purchasers (conducted in 1985 by the sociological

Table 5.

Preference for a Specific Genre Depending on the Socioprofessional  
Affiliation of the Respondent, Ranking

Genre*	Grade 1-2 Workers	Grade 3-4 Workers	Grade 5-6 Workers	Crop Growers, Livestock Breeders	Mechan- izers	Engineering- Technical Personnel	Physi- cians	Scienti- fic Workers	Creative Workers	Teach- ers	VUZ Teach- ers	Service Industry Workers	Trade Workers	Cab Drivers
Novels	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Novellas, stories	2	3	5	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	3	4
Crime	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	4	3	3	2	3
Science fiction	4	4	3	4	4	5	6	4	5	6	7	4	4	2
History	5	5	4	6	5	4	4	5	4	3	4	6	5	7
Tales	6	6	6	5	8	8	7	11	13	9	10	5	7	8
Travel	7	7	7	7	6	6	9	9	7	8	8	8	5	7
Poetry	8	8	8	8	9	7	5	8	6	5	5	7	8	6
Memirs	9	9	12	9	13	11	8	10	9	10	6	11	10	13
Political	10	11	9	11	10	12	12	14	12	11	11	10	11	10
Popular science	11	10	11	10	12	10	10	7	8	7	9	9	9	9
Publicism	12	13	14	12	15	13	11	13	10	12	12	13	12	15
Economic	13	15	15	14	11	15	15	15	14	14	15	15	13	12
Philo- sophical	14	14	13	15	14	14	14	12	11	13	14	14	14	14
Technical	15	12	10	13	7	9	13	6	15	15	13	12	15	11

\* The genre breakdown is conventional, based on ordinary understanding of the type.

Table 6.

Expert Evaluations of Demand for Books  
for the Next 2-3 Years\*

Type of Publication Book variety (as a whole)	Demand	
	Current	Expected Change
Fiction	++	++
Scientific-informational	+	++
Political	o	o
Economic	o-	o
Technical	o+	+
Methodical	o+	+
Referential	++	++
By subscription	++	++
For children	++	++
Crime, adventure	++	++
Fiction		
Classical works by Russian writers	++	+
Classical works by Soviet writers	++	+
Classical works by foreign writers	+	o
Works by Soviet poets	o-	o
Works by foreign poets	o-	o
Works by contemporary Soviet writers	o+	o
Adventure, Travel		
War	+	+
Militia personnel	++	++
Secret agents	++	++
Saboteurs	++	++
Travel, discoveries	++	++
Education, Self-Education		
Ideological-political	o	o
Labor	o-	o
Moral	+	+
Aesthetic	+	+
Atheistic	o+	o
Ecological	o	+
International	o-	o
Legal	++	+
Sports, better health	++	++
Preparation for family life	++	++
Building	++	++

\* Conventional symbols. Characteristics of contemporary demand: "++"--quite high; "+"--high; "o+"--average, rising trend; "o"--average; "o-"--average with declining trend. Expected change in demand--"++"--stable growth; "+"--insignificant growth; "o"--unchanged.

laboratory of the All-Union Book Palace at bookstores in Moscow, Leningrad, Alma-Ata, Kishinev and Frunze and in Belorussian and Ukrainian cities) only 25.5 percent of the respondents were able to purchase precisely such books and only 11.5 percent of them were able to mention a specific title, while the others were merely casual customers. Most purchasers had come to the store looking for a specific type of book, as follows: technical (27.3 percent);



sociopolitical and economic (16.9 percent); and scientific (21.6 percent). However, this does not substantially affect the book trade.

Judging the trends in changes in demand for book output on the basis of the actual behavior of the customers is quite difficult. Therefore, in order to be able to provide a reasonably acceptable forecast for the next 2 to 3 years, let us consider the results of the survey of experts. The expert assessments shown in Table 6 clearly indicate demand correlations (including expected ones) for the various types of publications.

The overall conclusion, therefore, is that in order to avoid a crisis in publishing as a result of the "pragmatic" attitude of the readers, extensive studies must be organized in the country of the dynamics of readership demand. Particular attention should be paid not only to the dissemination of publications but, mainly, to improving the forms of presentation of political and economic knowledge and genre variety.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This article includes merely a few of the results of studies, including data of the study of the topic plans of Izdatelstvo Molodaya Gvardiya over the past 30 years, in the course of which a study was made of 13,549 book titles; materials are based on a survey of various population categories and expert evaluations. In accordance with the formulated hypothesis, according to which readers' interest and solvent demand are differentiated above all on the basis of socioprofessional groups, generations and types of settlements, the selection included the population of Moscow, Kostroma and the villages in Kostroma Oblast. The respondents included 3,068 young people under 30 (fifth to tenth grade school students, students of the PTU (SPTU), technical school and VUZ students, first-sixth grade workers, people in the service industry and trade, cab drivers, engineering and technical workers, secondary school teachers, VUZ teachers, physicians, members of the scientific and creative intelligentsia, crop growers, animal husbandrymen and mechanizers), and 1,179 respondents included in the professional categories we listed (other than students), aged 31-60. The experts included 229 sales clerks and commodity experts in bookstores. The study was made in 1985.

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## PROPOSED ARTICLES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) p 127

[Text] Article by A.N. Averin, docent, USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy, et al. "Shaping the Social Infrastructure in the Petroleum and Gas Complex." The article will sum up data on the survey of experts and results of the study of statistical data describing the situation in the West Siberian Petroleum and Natural Gas Complex. The authors suggest the implementation of a number of steps which, in their opinion, will contribute to perfecting the social infrastructure of the area.

"How to Spend the Leisure Time of Urban Residents and With Whom?" by the noted Soviet student of the population's time budget V.D. Patrushev. Result of the study of the leisure time of the population in relatively small towns (Kerch, Pskov). The article provides extensive empirical data. "The infrastructure of the leisure time is developing spontaneously, without a clear plan or scientific strategic line. A paradoxical situation has developed: the material base for recreation is a target of sharp social interest. However, it is unknown what it represents and what precisely is its condition." The author not only notes this circumstance but also earmarks steps aimed at improving the state of affairs in the organization of the leisure time of urban residents.

Theory and method of data analysis. The discussion of this problem, which was undertaken by us in the preceding issue, is continued by K.D. Argunova in the article "Causality and Interaction of Characteristics in Regression Models." The considerations expressed by the author will unquestionably help the sociologists in processing and interpreting data gathered in the course of surveys.

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## PRODUCTION TOPIC IN CINEMATOGRAPHY IN THE 1970s-1980s

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(Signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 128-136

[Article by Sergey Leonidovich Shumakov, junior scientific associate, USSR Goskino All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Cinematography, member of the USSR Union of Cinematographers. This is his first article in this journal]

[Text] On two occasions I had the opportunity to participate in a meeting between cinematographers and the public. The meetings dealt in particular with the question of why are today people unwilling to see "production motion pictures." The reply was: "Why, actually, pay 50 kopeks to extend my working day?" The reaction of the public was unanimous: they were obviously unwilling to pay their 50 kopeks.

Only yesterday such an answer may have triggered indignation. How come? Art affects the gravest problems of our lives, motivates civic feelings. All of the sudden, extension of the working day, 50 kopeks....

But let us not be impatient. To blame the audience is simplistic. It is more difficult to understand the reasons which determine their behavior and the attitude toward one motion picture or another and its fate on the screen. Actually, the angered viewer, who expressed in his own manner his rejection of a "production" movie explained his position as follows: "What is the use of your pictures? The people speak well, argue a great deal and tell the truth as it is. But then what does this change? How does reality respond to all such right words?"

You must agree that this is something to think about.

### The Study of the Past Clears the Way to the Future

Recently the journal NASH SOVREMENNİK carried an article by Ivan Vasilyev headed "A Word on the Action and the Owner," which described a paradoxical situation in our social life. On the one hand, we speak a great deal and accurately about shortcomings. We criticize, we suggest means of solving problems, we write articles, and make motion pictures; on the other, we continue to live as of old, and sometimes even worse. "Have we not turned

into talkers?" the writer asks. "Are we not engaged in describing the work instead of working?" (2). It is at this point that we should start our discussion on the reasons for the indifferent attitude of the viewers toward "production films." For, whether we wish it or not, they most frequently consider this type of art a variety of idle talk.

Remember the passionate discussions by movie critics of pictures such as "The Train Stopped," "Reliance and Support," "Main Line," and "The Stand-In is on the Stage." Tremendous hopes were generated by such pictures. This was no accident. We must give its due to civic daring, and to the involvement of the authors who had set themselves the noble objective of tell the truth and nothing but the truth about the sensitive problems of our lives. However, nor should we ignore the fact that the social response to these pictures turned out to be more than modest. "Hardly anyone would dare claim," wrote V. Tolstykh in the journal ISKUSSTVO KINO, "that these pictures became a true social event and triggered a true spiritual upheaval among the public" (3).

Let us try to understand why. What is the meaning that we invest in the concept of "civic courage?" What does truth in art mean? What kind of new social or moral position does such a motion picture give to the public?

The person has gone to the movies. The lights go off and the characters appear on the screen. They argue. What do they argue about? They argue about economic and moral problems of planning. They argue about faulty management practices, the lack of initiative, and backwardness of technical thinking. The problem of collective egotism and parochialism became particularly popular after the screening of the motion picture "The Bonus." Let us not at this point consider the specific features of the artistic interpretation of such topics on the screen but ask ourselves whether or not we already knew about them? We did. Furthermore, we have already become tired of endless discussions about such problems at work and at home. We have adapted to them. Yet these problems were first mentioned, Publicist A. Zlobin reminds us in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, for the first time in 1955, at the All-Union Conference of Industry Workers. Since that time, "For 30 years we have been talking and writing about the same thing. This is quite a long time--one third of a century.... Within that time our problems have been able to consolidate themselves, to become close to and understood by us. We tried to solve problems the old way--through silence. We pushed them inside us as though they would resolve themselves suddenly" (4).

They did not! Actually, it is precisely this that the "production film" cautioned us about. However, as perceived by the public, this warning was refracted through the lens of real practical experience and occasionally triggered a feeling of irritation. What we needed were radical changes in reality and not merely on the screen.

No, the words and actions of the brigade of construction workers headed by Potapov (in the film "The Bonus") triggered a feeling of respect. However, everyone knew that the plot was the idea of the scriptwriter. It was an artistic method. To refuse a bonus, to question the results of the work of an entire trust, and economically to refute the actions of an administration which had deliberately undertaken to amend the plan would not be something

that anyone would dare to accomplish. This conventionality enabled the author to bring to light the real picture of the contemporary production process and to define the nature of the moral conflict and endow the characters with what is described today as the "human factor." Nevertheless, this movie, in which everything seemed well documented and realistic, turned out somehow not to be so. It was accepted as a type of social science fiction. Let us reemphasize that this was not because it was not true but because it described a wish as reality.

The movie "The Stand-In Went Into Action" cannot be described as science fiction. It is based on a real fact: at one of the enterprises the entire administrative apparatus was replaced by young specialists for an entire month. However, even this circumstance hardly changed the nature of the problem. It was changed in the perception of the audience. It was conceived as a play of the imagination of the film's authors. It was an interesting, topical and sharp play, but nothing more. In order to develop a different perception of what was taking place on the screen, profound changes were needed in the public consciousness, a turn from words to actions.

The beginning of this process was started by the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which formulated the strategy of acceleration of our society's socioeconomic development. However, a profoundly deep concept of the changes taking place in the country could be felt during the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress, when from the lofty rostrum the following words were heard: "A responsible study of the past clears the path to the future, whereas half-truth, shyly bypassing sharp corners, hinders the formulation of real policy and prevents our progress" (1).

It was at that time that some recently made "production movies" were shown on television. I must admit that I was quite amazed. Occasionally the sensation appeared that we were looking at new movies never seen before. It was interesting to analyze them. Here was my conclusion: above all, naturally, the sociopsychological background had changed. That which was perceived in the past merely as verbosity gradually began to acquire the outlines of real action. It is as though the motion pictures had lost a great deal of their old scholasticism and far-fetched problems, suddenly gaining the energy of motion, flexibility and passion. Above all, what mattered was that their emphasis had changed: what was peripheral and secondary began to emerge on the surface as though restructuring the ideas of the authors. Priority was clearly given to the drama of the change of generations, ideas and styles of thinking.

Thus, let us say, the conflict between Batartsev, the trust's manager and Chernikov, the administrative chief, holds a rather modest position in the movie "The Bonus." Chernikov is an experienced and energetic engineer. He does not share the views of his immediate superior in the trust, something which he openly mentions at the party committee meeting. However, he does this without any unnecessary pathos, casually. It immediately becomes clear that this person has already made his decision and his choice. It is perhaps Chernikov's character features that could explain his stubbornness. Actually, what does Shatunov, the chief of the planning department, try to accomplish? He is arrogant and thin-skinned. Not having been appointed chief engineer of



the trust, he is now seeking revenge, displaying his true nature. The conflict, however, is much more serious. This is no longer a question of ambition. It is a clash between conflicting views on life, as represented in the work style and management of the construction project.

Batartsev is agitated. He feels that his time is past. In a mood of revelation, he even admits, in referring to brigade leader Potapov: "At this point I would change places with him with the greatest of pleasures. Not he but I would stand up and say: I make a motion! No, I simply would feel like a person who could stand up and say it! I have never experienced such a situation...."

Meanwhile, Chernikov keeps silent, makes no statements or admissions. During the break, as he says, he reads. He has confidence in himself. He realizes that now time works for him. He is master of the situation and the future works for him. Not in the sense that he will become chief of the trust but the fact that a new type of manager will come to replace Batartsev....

Let me reemphasize that in the film this conflict is further burdened by the investigation of the situation both in the trust and in Potapov's brigade. That is why 3 years or 10 years ago it was considered only as one of the possible stage solutions of a basic conflict. Today the confrontation between Batartsev and Chernikov has assumed a different, a more vital meaning. Today Chernikov would find it quite easy to assume his new position. Relieving Batartsev would be no easy matter. This painful process would affect the basic interests not only of individuals but entire groups, entire social strata. It is precisely now that we begin to seek what A. Gelman, the author of the script, describes as "collective egotism." It is one thing when Batartsev and his retinue are defending the honor of the uniform, the false authority of the trust. It is an entirely different matter when personal interest and the fear of losing a good position are cleverly concealed behind the real interests of the collective. Potapov suggests that the improperly received bonus be returned. Shatunov, the chief of the planning department, angrily answers: "Where are we, in an institute for noble ladies or in a big modern enterprise? We are business people. We must be honest but we must not be stupid!" He sends a note to Batartsev: "Don't you think that someone is urging him on?"

This is an extremely interesting document. I remember that in a first viewing I considered it as the publicistic flirtation of the author. Actually, who could be standing behind brigade leader Potapov? The minister? The prosecutor? The gorkom secretary? Even had such been the case, the situation would have seem far-fetched. Let us assume that someone had decided to fire Batartsev and his entire retinue. Why use this entire cumbersome incident with the bonus?

Today Shatunov would have a great deal of reasons to be afraid. Yes, Potapov is not the only participant in this investigation of the trust. Without fear of any false feelings, we could say now that today Potapov is backed by the party, by the people.

Is this a generational conflict? No, the problem is much more serious. It is a question of restoring the line "between what is admissible and inadmissible within the heart of every person," a question of conscience, honor and dignity. It is a question of what, perhaps, was considered for the first time at the party committee meeting by Prolovskiy, the dispatcher. Let me repeat: this topic has begun to sound particularly clear only with the change of the atmosphere of public life for the better.

This may sound amazing but it is a fact. "Production films" greatly anticipated the present situation. However, in order to experience them as a fact of art, we had to await the beginning of a radical restructuring of our entire life. It is as though these pictures found themselves between times. Yesterday they appeared like social science fiction; today they are accepted merely as an illustration, as a report of changes which have either been started or are about to start.

#### The Truth of Consequences and the Truth of Reasons

What is main shortcoming of "production films?" Here is the answer of writer V. Bykov: "If we speak of the principles of the accomplishments of life in art I would like to mention two approaches expressed in two different formulas: what is and what should be. Some readers and literary critics and writers themselves tend to prefer what should be. Literature, they say, should describe the way things should be. This is the path which has been followed for many years, in an effort to educate the people only through positive characters. And, in a broader way, by presenting a positive model of life. In this area, the imagination of the writer knows no limits. This is the type of literature to which A. Gelman's play belongs."

V. Bykov then expresses the quite noteworthy idea that we are most frequently struggling against consequences without always considering the prime reasons. "Yet many of today's problems come from a certain violation of the balance of human nature. I am not a scientist or a researcher. I see, however, as one of these reasons a developing egotism which entraps the person" (5).

In the "production films" the viewpoint of the person, the central problem of art, has been shifted. The authors have concentrated on the moral aspects of production activities and, imperceptibly to themselves, have erred both against the truth of life and the laws of art. "The human factor" has assumed an extremely specific manifestation in their movies and turned out directly related to problems of management, planning and organization; at the same time, the presentation of such problems on the screen comes out unclear, exceptionally abstract, as though not existing outside work. Moral problems were considered exclusively as interrelated with economic problems.

In other words, we are quite familiar with the difficulties which arose in the development of the "production" topic in the motion pictures at the end of the 1970s, triggered not simply by the inert behavior of the audiences but also the approaches which dominated at that time toward something in which art could represent reality. The error seemed to be found in the very structure of the work of art. Let us consider this feature in greater detail.

## A Conflict with Conscience

The impression frequently develops that the makers of films on production topics seemed to have tried to prove that no differences exist between a publicistic article and a work of art. I can anticipate objections: What is there to wonder about? If it is a question of sensitive problems, forget about the fine arts. Something here has to give.

No argument, but even here a sense of moderation is necessary. What kind of spiritual upheaval could there be a question of among the audience if a problem raised in a motion picture turns out to be just about its only aesthetic principle?

Let us assume that we are discussing the brigade contracting order. One can rest assured that in the movie everything will concentrate on depicting the circumstances which hinder its application. Possibly the authors will not sin against the truth. However, having undertaken the study of the problem freely and without prejudice, in the final account, they find themselves entrapped by it. No other way is possible, for the complexity of life is not exhausted by the brigade contracting order. Here the sharpness of the dramatic conflict seems to be defined by the sharpness of the production situation. The shortest way to the reality of life turns out to be the most circuitous one. The far-fetchedness of this approach becomes particularly clear at the moment when the makers of the film are forced to address themselves to the private lives of their characters. As a rule, they turn out to be nothing but a primitive function, a stupid makeweight of a socially significant conflict included in a work of art. The motion picture "Main Line" is significant in this sense.

This huge organism of a railroad has linked with its steel arteries the entire territory of the country. It seems at times that it is operating in accordance with its own laws, independent of us. It is no accident that one of the reviewers of the film noted that perhaps the main and most impressive character in the picture is the Main Line itself. From time to time, however, the action shifts to the offices and meeting rooms, where the clash between the chief of the railroad section and the raykom secretary brings to light the reasons which have created the accident at the railroad station. What about the characters themselves? The features of their personalities are brought to light in the film not scantily but clearly, suitably measured. One is more daring and principle-minded while another is more clever and cowardly. Some watch over the interest of the state while others are concerned with departmental and regional interests and, naturally, with their own.

These are two types of managers. A great deal depends on them not only in terms of the comfort and safety of the passengers but their very lives. In order to depict this, the authors introduce a number of characters. They include a former locomotive engineer, who periodically threatens to write to the minister about the difficulties. There is his assistant, who is in love with the conductor. The characters include passengers, switchmen, couplers, conductors, cashiers. All of them are not living people but statistical material in the argument. It is true that there is a truly dramatic character by whose fault the passenger train collides with a freight train. He is the



station's dispatcher. Actor V. Gostyukhin depicts with extreme accuracy the psychological condition of someone in a state of constant confrontation with equipment, which is ready to reject his control at any moment. It is at this point that a truly sharp and topical situation develops. However, in order to motivate it psychologically, the authors have chosen not simply a trite but a purely mechanical device. The dispatcher's cantankerous wife keeps phoning her husband asking that he go to his chief and, finally, demand that he be given an apartment. The exhausted dispatcher finally makes this tragic error.

Naturally, anything may happen in life. But then could family difficulties be presented as though, in the final account, they turn out to be the psychological fuse for a dramatic explosion? It turns out that the characters in the film are totally uninteresting to the director outside his speculative structure, which is presented as the author's concept of the problem. A strange paradox develops here. It is precisely in movies which seem to be concerned with the human factor in economics and public life most of all that human destinies, and the complexities of daily life appear to be ignored.

Here is an example. The action in the relatively recent picture "Still Waters are Deep" takes place in a mine and in a village where, after a severe accident in the mine Mikhail Sveshnev, the main character, returns to settle down permanently. He finds places familiar from his childhood abandoned. His native village has disappeared. People are leaving. Strangely, however, all that which should touch us leave us entirely indifferent. Why? The explanation is simple. The self-sufficient problem which was unwittingly chosen by the authors of the movie—the outflow of the active population from the village—is only hinted at. Throughout the film we have the feeling that we are leafing through an album with a series of beautiful photographs. The camera goes up and down creating, one would assume, the illusion of lofty summations. Meanwhile, the public keeps yearning for one thing only: the live word, the sincere feeling, the simple human relationship, the daily dramas and, with them, the not always visible world of tears and the truth.

This, however, does not concern the authors. They discuss the continuity of generations. They rise above the sinful earth and try, with their eagle's eye to cover the entire space of life, all of its problems. By claiming to engage in broad philosophical summations and to synthesize the "rural" with the "industrial" topic, imperceptibly to their own selves, the authors switch into didacticism and schematism. Matters reach a point of absurdity. The character is sitting on a tree stump, as though thinking about the origins of life. To try to save the spring means to be concerned with the continuity of generations and preserve the broken link of time. The simple conclusion of a person who has bought himself a car, a piano or a carpet is that he has "turned into a kulak."

The recent motion picture "I Am Responsible for You" also sins with its approximation of psychological motivations. In slightly less than 2 hours of screen time the main female character has been able to prove the business qualities of the working person, the pedagogical talent of the sponsor, to fly to her son who is a submariner in the north and then to the southern shores of the Crimea where she puts on the right way her loafing student, incidentally visit Moscow to attend a production conference, become familiar with the

interests of her husband and convince us that she has been true to her marital duties....

Let us not ask where from she draws her spiritual strength. In the final account, this is the purpose of the movie. What puzzles me is the way people manage in the course of an official assignment to make such dizzying trips.

Many such movies have been made. In all of them we come across the basic fault of the "production film," the essence of which is that the authors are unfamiliar with the very nature of the combination between the social and private life of the character.

Noteworthy in this connection is the picture "Private Life." This, I believe, is a successful effort to analyze a number of social problems on the basis of the personal drama of the character, who is the head of a large industrial enterprise who has been asked to retire. What is important to us now, however, is to understand the directly opposite situation, in which a deep study of the nature of production and moral problems would allow us to develop on the screen the rich character of our contemporary. Is this a rewarding method? Is there a conflict here between the sociological and the artistic means of the study of social reality?

The movie "The Train Stopped" offers splendid material for an answer to such questions. Let us turn to the statements made by the moviemakers themselves to clarify the nature of the author's concept.

Scriptwriter A. Mindadze explains: "The story deals with a railroad incident in the course of which, at the cost of his life, the locomotive engineer saves passengers from death.... Not far from the place where the train has to stop, two of our characters find themselves in a double room in a hotel in the neighboring little city: an investigator and a journalist. The former, with his typical eye for details, investigates even the slightest reasons for the accident. The journalist, who witnessed the incident, is interested in something else—the exploit of the locomotive engineer" (6, p 163).

This is, most generally speaking, the theme of the movie. Let us now consider the details.

"At this point, I would like to caution you," A. Mindadze goes on to say, "that in this movie we are quite remote from 'Gelman's,' strictly 'production' problems" (Ibid, p 164).

This remark is quite important. The desire to separate oneself from the "production movie" is quite indicative in this case. Above all, because of the aspiration to abandon the dead end street into which this trend in the motion pictures took us toward the end of the 1970s. However, hardly everything here is all that simple. The authors are not simply going back to the sharp social problem. They do not simply reject the "production drama" but use an inner debate with it as one of the main dramatic methods. This is expressed in that the makers of the film rely on conflicts which are typical of the "production" or "legal" drama. They do not introduce one but simultaneously two main characters who, in their conflict, crash against each

other the stereotyped production, social and moral conflicts. In simple terms, whereas in the past we had one 'truth' we now have two. The drama develops through the confrontation between two totally different outlooks, which claims to find a universal approach to the eternal problems of human life.

Where is the essence of this confrontation? According to Yermakov, the investigator, the law is the only guarantee of justice. That is why he tries to expose anyone guilty of having caused the death of the locomotive engineer. Such people, however, turn out to be too many, for the main criminal is the atmosphere of irresponsibility which imbues all aspects of life in a small railroad station. This does not bother Yermakov. He believes that anyone whose guilt has been proven should be punished. It is only thus that order can be brought. The journalist Malinin expresses the "public opinion" of the town's population, who tries to see in the locomotive engineer not "the victim" of someone's irresponsibility but a hero, a person who saved the lives of dozens of people.

The debate between the main characters does not slow down even for a second and turns out to be the obstacle against which the traditional model of the "production drama" crashes, on the basis of which, as we said, we find some kind of "arbitrary method," a hypothetical assumption, a characteristic element of the game: the brigade returns the bonus, the young specialists replace for 1 month the managers of production units. In the movie "The Train Stopped" such arbitrariness is basically excluded. No single character has been allowed to abandon reality for the sake of some kind of ideal area in which the efforts of the artist turn wish into reality. "At all times life rejects the solutions of the characters," Director V. Abdrashitov says, adding that "these two 'truths' are absolutely inviolable. Their permanence is what creates the insoluble spiritual conflict between the journalist Malinin and the investigator Yermakov" (Ibid).

Let us take one step further and try to understand the nature of the insoluble conflict. Partially, it is explained with the familiar psychological phenomenon of the contemporary man, in whose mind two mutually exclusive concepts come together. On the one hand, he would like to put an end to slackness, irresponsibility, bribery and string pulling. He demands "order," "strict measures" and "a firm hand." For some reason, however, he does not allow the idea that radical measures could affect himself personally. Furthermore, the moment the clouds thicken over the head of this radical type his civic enthusiasm vanishes, yielding to discussions about unfairness, arbitrariness and cruelty. In other words, the essence of the phenomenon lies simultaneously in the coexistence within the human mind of both the views of Yermakov and those of Malinin.

Let us particularly point out that this conflict which, according to Director V. Abdrashitov is insoluble, has its own history. This is not the first time that it is considered by this artist. It is no accident that in a number of critical articles about this movie the parallel is drawn with Chekhov's "criminal." In this case the classical story is used ironically. The time, it is claimed, is past when an investigator could awaken a person who fails to



understand that using the bolts in a sinker is a crime. No such people exist any longer. Today everyone is knowledgeable.

One would find it difficult to argue against this. On the surface, the coupling worker Panteleyev is infinitely different from the peasant Denis Grigoryev. Nevertheless, a profound similarity exists between them.

Let us consider Chekhov's story.

"In your view, why do train accidents happen? You remove two or three bolts and you have an accident!"

"Denis smiles and mistrustfully looks at the investigator.

"No! For years we have removed these bolts and now you...speak of accident...of killing people...."

And here is the dialogue between the investigator and Panteleyev in "The Train Stopped." "All that you did was to use your replacement?"

"Just one, in my entire life!" suddenly the old man blew up. "I have never put another one! That is since 1947! No replacement! Never! All of this is in the instructions. If we follow the instructions, we should close down this line!"

Let us ignore for a moment the stylistic lack of coincidence between the two dialogues and consider their meaning. Both Grigoryev and Panteleyev pit against the law and instructions considerations of common sense. Naturally, one could question the accuracy of such pitting but one cannot ignore the fact that it appeared and was rooted in the minds of the people not yesterday and not even on the day of the dramatic clash between the "criminal" and the investigator. The origins here should be sought in old, almost ancient times. That is the reason for which the old and the present interlocutors of the investigator present the same type of defense: they take time as their ally. They claim that such had always been the case. "For years on end the village has been taking out those bolts," Grigoryev says. "I never put another one!" Panteleyev explodes, "ever since 1947!" Both appeal to isolated cases. "We make shoes out of these bolts," naively acknowledges Denis. "Who is this we?" the investigator asks. "We, the people!" Denis answers. The same with Panteleyev: "I never used a relief worker! Never, at no time!"

I repeat: I do not have the slightest intention of proving to the reader that there is no difference between Panteleyev and his dark and forgotten predecessor. In this case, it is a question of a specific way of thinking which is backed by tradition, by a form of life. This is expressed, in their own fashion, in the film by the "mayor" of the city, who softly yet persistently lets the investigator realize that his activities are going against the general feeling of the people. Even the widow of the deceased locomotive engineer, asks the investigator to leave, demands it "for the sake of the entire city, the entire population."

The sharp clash between such types of social thinking and the laws on the basis of which a modern railroad operates is the deep conflict in the film "The Train Stopped." Here the main character is, on the one hand, "the city," its mass consciousness, its concept of good and evil, its intuitive feeling of justice; on the other, we have the "Main Line," the tense rhythm of the traveling trains, the clear regulations, the alienated rules the observance of which is strictly demanded. Yermakov and Malinin merely personify the most important areas of life of our contemporary.

Within the limits of the plot, the conflict is indeed insoluble. In order to answer questions raised by the authors, we must turn to life itself. That, precisely, is the feeling of the makers of this film. However, by suggesting to the reader to consider by himself the problems of human existence raised in the film, the authors have overstepped the boundaries of the permissible and, to a certain extent, have shifted their own burdens to our own shoulders. In an effort to prove that the initial conflict is exceptionally dramatic and insoluble, they have totally confused the audience. Actually, the film does not leave any point of reference which will help the audience to seek the truth and justice in the proper direction. All the characters in the movie are violating moral norms to one extent or another. It is as though they jump between "yes" and "no." Everyone becomes included in some kind of imaginary "memory" ritual which, actually, is a "forgetfulness" in which there is absolutely no place for a feeling of sympathy with the person who indeed sacrificed his own life. The atmosphere of moral vagueness is transmitted to the audience, proving to be one of the main problems for discussion. However, the nature of the perception of the public is such that we not only interpret what we have seen but also experience it and, consequently, rebuild our moral criteria. In this case, we unwittingly adapt the author's intention to our own concepts of good and evil, of the truth and the lie. That is precisely why most people were unwilling to see the main feature: the confrontation between the investigator and the journalist. In simple terms, they "spiced" the plot and chose the investigator as their positive character. Let me cite as an example a few typical reactions:

"An exceptionally topical movie. We have many shortcomings and we do not need exploits. Sloppiness must end. I support the investigator."

"The film raises a problem but does not solve it. I come out with a depressive feeling. Why is it that everyone is against the investigator?"

"The investigator is the person who moves our society forward. We cannot do without such people."

"Enough 'exploits.' Everyone must do his job conscientiously. The investigator is right. It is high time for someone to do something!"

"I share the view of the investigator. It is drastically opposed to the ordinary mentality of a small city. The investigator is rough, sharp but that is the only way to oppose a common way of thinking."

One of the conclusions from all of this could be formulated as follows: the film "The Train Stopped" is, unquestionably, a step forward in the development

of the "production drama," or, more precisely, of the "problem motion picture." However, it continues to bear the fault inherent in such films. The motion picture art has forgotten the simplest truth: in a work of art what is most important is not only the problem, not only the production, the social conflict, but man himself, his character, his feelings, his destiny. That is precisely why we plunge into such heavy topics, seeking some kind of secret with the help of which we could, perhaps for a while, turn the heroes back to the original integrity. Meanwhile, our time powerfully motivates the artist to reach the profound awareness of the fact that without a clear distinction between good and evil, without an understanding of the sociohistorical links between the past and the present we cannot restore in art the most delicate network of vessels which combine within a single entity the social and private aspects of life of the contemporary man.

Today we have definitely turned into talkers. We find uninteresting the man in art. We have suddenly decided we know everything about him and we have replaced him with...a problem. However, we have acted hastily. In addition to jobs there are valuable instants when the person remains alone with his own conscience and asks himself: What is the meaning of life? If this basic problem is restored in "production films" I am confident that no single person in the audience would complain of an "extended work day" in a motion picture, for in this case he will be working with his heart.

Obviously, such a film will be long remembered not only in the articles of the motion picture critic, who is familiar with the aesthetic merits and shortcomings, but also in an environment for which, actually, it is made, on the movie and TV screen, in home videos, and in the memory of ever new generations of Soviet people.

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## SOCIAL REFERENCE POINTS IN CITY BUILDING

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[Article by Igor Vladimirovich Bobkov, candidate of architecture, associate at the Scientific Research and Design Institute for the General Plan of Moscow City. Author of the article "Area of Services as an Object of Urban Construction Planning" published in this journal (No 1, 1985)]

[Text] We know that big and very big cities offer today the broadest possible possibilities for jobs and for the satisfaction of the material and sociocultural demands of the population. We also know that the bigger the city and the greater within it the concentration of industrial-communal projects, the more difficult it becomes to ensure favorable living conditions for the citizens. Particularly worsened here is the ecological situation. Commuting time increases and so does the time needed for shopping and recreation. A number of social and health problems arise related to limited recreation opportunities and the virtually total lack of conditions for active physical activities and, sometimes, for intercourse. All of this seriously raises the question of how great are indeed the advantages of big and very big cities in meeting the dynamically developing needs of the people?

Only 10 to 15 years ago such a question would have seemed out of place, due to the orientation of the economy toward the concentration of production forces and resources in large urban centers and the creation of thousands-strong labor collectives. Today, however, many sectors in the metal processing industry, machine building and radio electronics experience has been gained in achieving high production indicators through the utilization of progressive technologies and automatic assembly lines with a relatively small number of people. Why then are ministries and departments continuing to try to locate plants and factories in the large cities which are already overburdened with industrial projects? The answer is simple: it is considerably easier to draw to such cities skilled manpower compared to middle-sized and small towns; furthermore, the engineering and social infrastructures make it possible to invest fewer funds in developing a territory, channeling most of the funds into production development. Moscow is one of the most outstanding examples of such a policy of stimulating the further concentration of production forces in already developed industrial centers. Currently land to be developed 15 years hence is already under industrial construction. Whereas the acute

shortage of territory within the Moscow ring highway forces a reduction in the pace of housing construction, the rate of industrial construction, which averages 1 million square meters of useful area per year, has remained stable and shows no declining trend. This ensures the further extensive development of industry and, as a consequence, the high mechanical increase in the population of the capital. Last year alone, as B.N. Yeltsin noted in his report at the 26th Moscow City Party Conference, the planning authorities in Moscow received requests for increasing the number of manpower by a total of 60,000 people (2).

The experience of many large and very large cities in the country proves that the "benefit" derived by ministries and departments from saving on funds for the development of territories is largely imaginary. Although expenditures for industrial output are indeed lowered as a result of its high concentration, the result is greatly "lost" by increased expenditures for the building of engineering facilities, developing transportation, environmental protection, etc. (see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1. Specific Outlays for the Development, Engineering Equipment and Improvement of Development Land in Cities of Different Sizes, Thousand Rubles Per Hectare

Indicator	Urban Population, Thousands				
	50	100	250	500	1,000
City average	130	155	150	186	<u>210</u> 244
Central districts	153	191	208	262	<u>266</u> 325
Outlying districts	122	134	137	170	<u>189</u> 202

\* In this and the following table denominator data take subway construction into consideration. Source (3).

Table 2. Specific Outlays for Urban Transportation in Cities of Different Sizes, Thousand Rubles Per Square Meter Area

Population, thousands	50	100	250	500	1,000	1,000
Outlay indicator	3.9	5.3	10.6	14.8	18.7	<u>21.2</u> 38.2

In his report to the 27th CPSU Congress, N.I. Ryzhkov emphasized that, while paying attention to the flexible combination of sectorial with territorial management, "We must most daringly broaden the rights of the local soviets in economic planning and management and, particularly, in sectors and areas which affect the daily needs of the working people" (1). This largely applies to the development of the large and largest cities. One of the main factors of their "extensive industrialization" is the insufficiently positive role of urban planning. The excessive increase of quantitative indicators of growth in the volumes of output and duplication of functions of ministries and departments responsible for such indicators is a type of justification for economic managers who frequently adopt a formalistic attitude toward the

requirements of the rational utilization of the land, environmental protection, etc. By emphasizing indicators of industrial output as a base for the plans for economic and social development of the cities, the urban authorities are forced to absorb the cost of this production. Second priority is given to strictly urban problem of planning related to upgrading the efficiency of processes of reproduction of manpower and the creation of the type of living conditions in the cities which would be consistent with contemporary hygienic, ecological and demographic standards. A clear proof of the gravity of this problem is the fact that the pace of natural growth in many of the largest cities in our country remains below the average for the union (4).

The process of manpower reproduction is considered today on a much broader basis than in the 1920s, when the problem was first tackled by leading Soviet economists. At that time the main attention was paid to problems of food, which was a basic factor for restoring the physical strength. Correspondingly, a strategy was formulated for upgrading the well-being of the population, oriented toward attaining the necessary survival minimum and the satisfaction of basic requirements within the shortest possible time (5).

Today the reproduction characteristics of manpower are being formulated on an essentially different level which is consistent with the increased population requirements concerning the volume of material goods and services which are the foundations of a modern way of life. This includes the variety and quality of cultural and consumer services, job variety, possibility of upgrading education and skill, improved housing, etc. The study of the role of the family in meeting the needs of society for manpower has become a new aspect of the study of the people's well-being. Conversion from planning average per capita consumption standards to a fuller consideration of the family structure of needs enables us to model on a comprehensive basis the individual levels of social manpower reproduction (6). This enables us to bring real practice in socioeconomic planning closer to programming a specific set of end indicators of social reproduction which characterize the expected results of the implementation of the plan. The funds spent in the social development of the cities are no longer simply used as national economic overhead but as part of capital investments which, in the final account, stimulate economic growth and public production intensiveness. This objectively calls for assessing outlays for social needs on the basis of the same criteria as the efficiency of capital investments in production, excluding any kind of "philanthropy." The social sphere of the cities, as an inseparable part of the mechanism of ensuring the national economy with skilled cadres, determines the real possibilities of training morally and physically a healthy generation which will be able in the forthcoming decades to solve the problems which have been now posed, concerning the radical restructuring of the economy. Correspondingly, the efficiency of the latter should be assessed on the basis of the indicators of the profitability of urban reproduction functions and returns from their material infrastructure.

Numerous attempts to assess in terms of value the efficiency of the social processes have been unsuccessful so far and have been reflected only in the formulation of urban construction standards which regulate a certain qualitative level of development of the city's social infrastructure.



Essentially, these standards characterize only one of the intermediary levels of the social reproduction of manpower related to building cultural-consumer service projects and recreation and sports facilities. The old standards, expressed in terms of indicators of population availability of various service institutions virtually ends with the concept of the social meaning of a contemporary urban planning. This quite frequently distorts the very concept of the economic efficiency of the social development of a city, which is frequently assessed from the standpoint of quantitative rather than qualitative changes. Attaining a proper standards of services by no means yields adequate social results, for it ignores the optimal accessibility and maximal socioeconomic return of the individual enterprise or establishment and its consistency with the steadily growing material and spiritual requests of the people. For example, the high degrees of availability of cultural institutions in the large and largest cities, included in urban construction documents, proved to be virtually impossible as a result of the insufficient study of the processes of consumption of cultural values by the population, and problems of variety and accessibility of cultural services on different consumption levels. Today no one doubts any longer that strictly social progress is characterized by the quantitative development of the social infrastructure only partially and that the definitive characteristics of consumption must be found (related to the way of life and family structure) in the health parameters of the urban environment and human health, the harmonious development of the individual and the increased efficiency of ideological work.

Demands for economic intensification are based on increased returns from all units, including urban construction. Although ascribing great importance to productive capital in industry, specialists in planning pay significantly less attention to the efficiency of basic capital in urban construction. This is greatly assisted by the existing system of social and urban construction standards. If we take as a starting point the indicators of the way of life, health and harmonious development of the individual, we would see that the concepts of the optimal volumes of the development of the social infrastructure could change depending on the pace of scientific and technical progress and even the degree of advancement of technological processes in the service industry, the spatial organization of the habitat, the collective forms of recreational activities and the overall cultural standard of the population. In this case two basic tasks are singled out in urban planning, the solution of which would ensure the successful implementation of socioeconomic programs: 1. Encouraging the pace of the natural growth of the population by improving the socio-spatial living conditions, extending the average life span, reducing morbidity and premature mortality and attaining the hygienic standards of the quality of urban environment; 2. Upgrading the skill, educational and cultural standards of urban residents and social and creative activeness, combined with the intensified role of the family and labor collectives, and forms of communication and interaction at places of residence, and improving the system of educating the growing generation.

The solution of these problems calls for changes in the existing planning mechanism, for in order to define means of optimizing the structure of capital investments in the urban economy we must single out in advance the system of criteria on the basis of which we should assess the plans' economic

effectiveness. To this effect we need preplanning formulation of a special program for urban development. In the future, in accordance with such a preprogram, we should formulate a system of economic indicators within the national economic plan. Such an approach entirely agrees with the comprehensive target programs aimed at achieving desired social results. In particular, the Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services for 1986-2000, which directs us toward attaining efficient consumption standards, covers the entire process of their implementation, from the industrial conveyor belt to projects of the social infrastructure and the population's consumer requirements. The same principle could be used in the formulation of programs in the areas of culture, health care and recreation of the urban population. By combining them within the framework of an integrated system, social programming could be structured on the basis of the efficient consumer budget, the time budget, the demographic structure and the health of the population, etc., which are currently singled out within the national economic plans on union, republic and oblast levels, constituting, essentially, the starting base for urban planning (7). The breakdown of said indicators within the framework of the social preprogram for the urban plan and the definition of the target guidelines would enable us to direct the economic components of urban planning toward efficient public reproduction. Consequently, planning the volume of gross output in accordance with the socioecological requirements of the towns would encourage ministries and departments to seek new means of solving their problems through the utilization of contemporary technology and equipment and perfecting the organization of the production process.

Therefore, two main areas in social programming could be singled out as foundations for the subsequent elaboration of the plan for economic and social development. The first is controlling capital investments in the implementation of an urban construction policy and environmental protection activities; the second is taking steps to expand the range of competence of territorial management authorities and their rights and possibilities in using the social development funds of enterprises and establishments and shaping the "portfolio of orders" in planning the habitat.

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## TURKMENIAN AGRICULTURAL SPECIALISTS

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[Article by Leonid Prokofyevich Verevkin, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate, Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences Department of Philosophy and Law. Author of the articles "Structure of Womens' Employment in Industrial Production in the Checheno-Ingush ASSR" (No 1, 1981) and "What is the Author's Position?" (No 3, 1984) published in this journal]

[Text] Agricultural production provides the country with most of its consumption funds. The course of intensification adopted in all economic sectors is particularly topical here and presumes truly revolutionary changes. Ensuring the kolkhozes and sovkhoses with skilled specialists is the core of the party's contemporary agrarian policy. The 27th CPSU Congress is directing us precisely toward the adoption of this approach in solving the food problem: "Today more than ever before agriculture needs people interested in doing active work on a high professional level, displaying an innovative streak. The best guarantee for all of our successes is steady concern for the working and living conditions of the rural working people" (1).

It would be no exaggeration to say that specialists working in the countryside determine to a decisive extent the successful application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. That is why it is particularly important today to draw lessons from errors and blunders allowed in the past, related to the organization of the labor and working conditions of agricultural specialists. This is confirmed again and again by analyzing the study of the reasons for cadre turnover among specialists in Ashkhabad, Chardzhou and Tashgauz Oblasts in Turkmeniya. Agricultural managers and specialists in eight rayons in said oblasts (518 people) and 250 graduates of the Turkmen Agricultural Institute (more than half the students) were surveyed. Statistical data of the republic's kolkhozes were also studied.

Turkmen agriculture is not short of manpower. The size of the rural population increased by 201 percent between 1959 and 1984. For the sake of comparison let us point out that the same indicator in Kirov and Kostroma Oblasts was respectively, 47 and 48 percent (2). This feature enables us to understand more profoundly the problem which we shall discuss subsequently.

Substantial positive changes have taken place in recent years in the structure of the intelligentsia in Turkmen agricultural production. The number of specialists tripled in 13 years. The contingent of specialists with higher training has increased at a particularly high pace. Whereas the share of VUZ and technical school graduates of kolkhoz chairmen was 38 percent in 1970, it reached 97.7 percent in 1983 (3, pp 110-111).

However, although unquestionably positive, such high indicators prove the existence of a clear difficulty in ensuring the republic's agriculture with skilled cadres. With a normal availability, this tempestuous increase in specialists would have been simply impossible. Such a pace could indicate only the need to fill a vacuum. Indeed, the economic agrarian sector is substantially lower compared to other sectors in terms of cadre availability. For example, there are 298 specialists per 1,000 people employed in the electric power industry and even more, 337, in the petroleum extraction industry, whereas in agriculture the respective indicator does not exceed 42. Many farms are exceedingly short of agronomists, zootechnicians, engineers, veterinarians and bookkeepers, i.e., specialists who determine the state of affairs in the sector. The number of so-called practical workers holding middle-level management positions remains quite high. They account for 77.1 percent of brigade leaders and 29.7 percent of heads of animal husbandry farms (Ibid, p 111). Another circumstance which characterizes the situation is the high turnover and replaceability of skilled cadres in the republic's kolkhozes. No more than 57.6 percent of graduates in agronomy, zootechnology and veterinary medicine are directly employed in agriculture. In other words, the cadre potential is not used in the best possible manner. Consequently, we must speak not of increasing the training but of ensuring the efficient utilization of specialists and creating proper conditions for their work, recreation, professional growth and job promotion.

G. Radov, the noted Soviet political journalist, has dealt with the problem of the rural leader, the farm manager, for many years. His most important book is precisely named "The Corps of Chairmen." This is no accident. This writer instilled in the public awareness, with rare persistence, the thought that under rural conditions the personality of the chairman determines not only the production achievements but also the way of life of the people. Such is the specific nature of country life in which the personality of the leader can be brought to light particularly fully and vividly. This article is not the proper place to discuss such a sociopsychological phenomenon. What is clear, however, is that the personality of the kolkhoz chairman must be the target of the closest possible attention of party and state authorities. This consideration, which may seem trivial, has still not become a standard in the cadre policy of many party raykoms and rayon executive committees. In recent years the turnover of kolkhoz chairmen in the republic has been on the 10-13 percent level. We believe this to be an inadmissibly high indicator. We have still not fully realized the unavoidable truth that the worst type of waste is that managerial experience. Equally harmful are hasty appointments and thoughtless layoffs and unplanned cadre transfers.

The computations we made on the basis of data of the former republic ministry of agriculture revealed yet another alarming trend (see Table 1). This applies to the reduced number of specialists with more than 5 years of

practical experience. This process may be noted in all professional groups. At the same time, the number of people with practical experience not exceeding 1 year has increased. There are several reasons for this. Above all, let us note shortcomings in the organization of production and the absence of planned and well-organized system for training, retraining and replacing leading cadres. We still come across cases of "cadre leap-frog appointments," in which, after the very first failure, the superior authorities replace the chief specialist. It is thus that painstaking work with cadres yields to bureaucratic administration. It is forgotten that the way to victory quite frequently passes through defeats. No single noted leader has become such immediately. The good specialist is developed in the course of surmounting failures, errors and blunders. Naturally, there are errors and errors. And, we must part without regret with people who display major faults in their professional knowledge and who have proved their total unsuitability of character, not to mention their tendency to abuse their position.

Another reason for turnover is the improper use of specialists and the poor organization of their work. According to *TRIMENSKAYA ISKRA*, the republic newspaper, in a number of oblasts the role of the specialists has been lowered. They have been removed from their direct obligations. Their responsibility for the crops has been reduced and their prestige has been undermined. Essentially, the chief engineers of kolkhozes have turned into shipping agents (4). Our study indicated the scale of this difficulty: 80 percent of those who were polled systematically draw reports or transcribe documents, the real use of which they find questionable; 75 percent of the respondents perform jobs for which they are overqualified, such as procuring spare parts and drawing up work orders.

Compared with the other categories of working people, the specialists are in an extremely unsuitable position: they have less free time and, consequently, have less time to pay attention to their families, the education of their children, their self-education and the consumption of spiritual values. Quite eloquent in this respect are data cited by G.A. Pchelintseva. The length of the working day of farm managers averages 11.3 hours. On an annual basis, there are 297 such days worked by kolkhoz chairmen in Turkmeniya; 209 for chief specialists and 345 for the engineering and technical personnel of the republic's sovkhozes (5, pp 97-98). The long working day, the lack of free time, paid leave at inconvenient times, and job stress are a set of circumstance which the farm managers described as the most unattractive feature in their work. An abnormal situation has developed. Having become excessively involved in the economic process, the specialist finds himself excluded from the social context and, as a consequence, in the final account he turns out to be not only a poor family person or a dull social partner but also a poor production worker. We believe that the elimination of such a contradiction is hindered by the fact that our way of thinking is not complex, if one may say so. We quite frequently forget that the person is not simply a worker but that he is also a son, a father of a family, a friend, a collector, a tourist, and, finally, a person who likes to listen to the radio. What the person does today outside his job frequently determines the quality of his work.



Table 1. Work Seniority of Agricultural Managers and Specialists in Turkmen SSR Kolkhozes, % (data for 1 April 1971 and 1984)

Position	Year	Length of Work in Said Position			
		Under 1 Year	1-3 Years	3-5 Years	Over 5 Years
Chairman	1970	6.8	17.0	22.5	53.7
	1983	16.0	30.00	19.8	34.2
Deputy chairman	1970	15.0	21.9	29.1	34.0
	1983	15.0	37.0	22.0	26.0
Chief agronomist	1970	14.9	23.8	17.1	44.7
	1983	21.0	30.8	18.8	29.4
Chief zootechnician	1970	13.6	24.6	18.9	42.9
	1983	14.9	30.3	19.4	35.4
Chief engineer	1970	9.5	24.9	20.4	45.2
	1983	21.4	34.7	19.0	24.8
Chief economist	1970	21.9	42.7	15.4	20.0
	1983	20.1	28.2	21.0	30.7
Chief bookkeeper	1970	7.9	19.4	18.7	54.0
	1983	13.3	25.0	18.7	43.0
Leader of crop growing production brigade	1970	13.2	26.0	20.0	40.8
	1983	19.0	26.5	20.0	34.5
Head of livestock farm	1970	8.3	26.0	21.9	43.8
	1983	12.8	30.0	23.0	34.2

Table 2. Specialists' Assessment of Some Conditions of Their Activities

Condition	Points	Rating
Satisfaction with the work	3.8	2
Wage	3.9	1
Possibility of professional growth and job promotion	2.5	7
Labor and recreation (length of working day, number of leisure days, leave time, etc.)	2.6	6
Size of housing	3.5	3
Housing amenities (sewage, water, hot water, etc.)	2.2	8
Consumer services	1.9	10
Medical services	2.2	8
Availability of children's preschool institutions	2.6	6
Trade in durable goods	2.9	4
Food trade	2.8	5
Alternatives for the use of leisure time	2.1	9

Such noncomprehensive way of thinking largely explains also the lagging in population services. Yet the data of our study lead to the conclusion that "willingness to change jobs" and to move to the city develops under the influence, above all, of poor living conditions and is followed by a negative attitude toward rural work. Disappointment in one's profession develops. The aspiration to solve production problems regardless of the "human factor" is tremendously costly. The fact that this becomes a cost goes in the books of one department and production success of another can only slightly camouflage the situation. Nevertheless, this decisively influences the length of time during which the "rear" (the service industry) remains behind the

"vanguard" (the production process). Self-delusion concerning the primacy of "production" over "nonproduction" has obviously lasted long enough.

In order to be able to determine to a certain extent the nature of the cost born by society as a result of the lagging of the "rear" behind the "vanguard," we asked the specialists to rate their working and living conditions on the basis of a 5-point scale. The results of the investigation (Table 2) indicated that that highest rating was given to material conditions and the lowest to services. Let us also note the varying assessments of the conditions of work in the countryside based on age and seniority. Among young specialists with a 1-3 year seniority both material conditions and services were rated equally low (1.7 points). Of the 65 percent of young specialist dissatisfied with living conditions 37 percent intend to move to the cities in the immediate future; 20 percent intend to move to another rayon and 8 percent to another farm within the same rayon. Although today many sectors in the service industry are developing at a faster pace, in absolute terms they are substantially below the urban levels. Thus, consumer service enterprises here are fewer by one half and the amount of consumer services by a factor of 1.3 compared with the cities. Retail trade in state and cooperative enterprises, on a per capita basis, is also lower than in the cities by a factor of 2.6 (3, pp 192-194).

In some parts of our country we are noticing the beginning of an outflow of the population from urban to rural areas. What tempts the citizens to move to the countryside? The advantages of rural life. However, such advantages become apparent only with the disappearance of the unquestionable shortcomings, such as poorly organized way of life, trade in durable goods, unstable transportation facilities, etc. In Turkmeniya, as we pointed out, there is no surplus agricultural migration. However, this should not mislead us. The question of the further updating of the social infrastructure is a problem of increase in the volume of agricultural commodities.

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#### YOUNG MOSCOVITES' PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION DYNAMICS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 162-167

[Article by Gamlet Mkrttychevich Mkrtchyan, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, Institute for the Advancement of Trade Union Workers, Higher School of the Trade Union Movement imeni N.M. Shvernik. This is his first article in this journal; and Alla Yevgenyevna Chirikova, candidate of psychological sciences, junior scientific associate, Scientific Research Institute of Economic Problems of the Comprehensive Development of the National Economy. Author of the article "Description of Structuring a System of Indicators of Sectorial Social Development" (No 3, 1982, coauthored) published in this journal]

[Text] Usually, in considering the socioprofessional orientations of individuals, researchers proceed from the repetitive nature of laws obtained within the framework of a group of respondents, for which reason they apply quite freely that information to other individuals whose "social portrait" is similar. However, it is by no means always possible to eliminate differences between the groups under comparison. The unreliability of such "transfers" in the study of complex sociopsychological mechanism of shaping professional preferences, their status features, and so on, is felt particularly sharply. The popularity of this approach is explained, among others, by the great labor intensiveness of longitudinal studies which, as confirmed by the results of Estonian sociologists, it is precisely the "longitudinal" strategy that lets us analyze the process of development of the studied entity and to determine the trend and volume of changes for a specific period of time (1).

The purpose of our study was to determine the value orientations of young people at different stages in their socioprofessional development with the help of the longitudinal method. We traced the "professional destiny" of individuals at the stage of formulation of plans for life, vocational training and labor activities. We also studied the correlation between the shaping of the value aspect of the profession and the affiliation of the young people with families belonging to different socioprofessional groups.

At the first stage of the studies, in 1973, the contingent of respondents (820) consisted of graduate of full-time general education schools in Moscow's Moskvoretskiy Rayon<sup>1</sup>; during the second stage their status was already



different: after graduating from secondary school some had gone to work, others had gone to a vocational training school, and others again had enrolled as students in full-time and evening departments of higher and secondary schools (the number of respondents dropped to 540 people and the surveys were conducted from 1973 to 1975).

The investigation was essentially based on surveys. For each step, depending on the individual, special surveys were drawn up: "school graduate," "student," "young worker" and "young specialist." Furthermore, a content-analysis of a composition by seniors on the topic of "what does a good profession mean," was conducted, which enabled us to determine the general set of reasons for the choice of a profession; the number of objective indicators were studied (grades, participation in scientific circles, reading of scientific publications by students, fulfilling production norms, quality of output, professional growth, participation in competition and rationalization by young workers). The data were processed at the laboratory for mathematical qualimetry of the MGPI imeni V.I. Lenin.

The overwhelming majority of secondary school graduates--from worker and employee families--gave "knowledge" a dominant role. The need related to gaining knowledge and broadening the outlook was noted, correspondingly, by 66 and 75 percent of those surveyed. "Creativity" played an important role, although here differences among members of said groups were tangible: 75 percent of children of employees and 57 percent of workers believed that future professional activities should offer the possibility of displaying initiative and independence. A roughly similar ratio was typical in assessing professional "prestige" (70 and 57 percent respectively).

The remaining reasons for the choice of a profession were broken down as follows: "social usefulness" (acknowledgment of the importance and the need for such a profession, on the one hand, and the aspiration to be needed by others, on the other): 58 percent of children of worker families and 54 percent of children of employees' families; "material well-being" (wages and other material incentives): respectively 31 and 19 percent; "lack of restrictions in finding jobs," and "wide range of application of professional knowledge:" workers, 21 percent; employees, 10 percent.

Data on the influence of the social origin of the respondents in assessing their preferences for specific professions are noteworthy. Differences among children of workers and employees were quite significant. For example, many of the children of highly skilled workers rated the profession of machine-tool operator quite highly ("most preferred"); it was rated low by the children of employees with university education ("undesirable"). The rating of the complexity and meaningfulness of the work of a turner, a fitter and a machine-tool operator among the respondents in the first group equal similar assessments of activities of a physician and were considerably higher compared with the professions of journalist, teacher or actor. Conversely, the respondents belonging to the second group believed that the work of a turner or radio technician is far simpler and less complicated than that of a physician, actor, economist or journalist.

Table 1. Correlation Between Preference for and Choice of a Profession

Respondent Group	Skill and Educational Level of Respondent Parents	Correlation Coefficient
Children of workers	Still	
	High	0.810
	Average	0.790
	Low	0.765
Children of employees	Education	
	Higher	0.862
	Secondary specialized	0.847
	Secondary and incomplete secondary	0.769

For example, in terms of the "complexity and meaningfulness of the work" criterion, the profession of machine-tool operator was rated quite highly by the children of highly skilled workers but given a low value by children of specialists (0.71 and 0.30, respectively). Although in terms of the criterion of "public opinion respect and prestige" in both groups said skill was rated similar<sup>2</sup> (0.27 by children of worker families and 0.30 by children of employees), to the former and not to the latter it is a target of their value orientation. In other words, although sharing similar ideas about creative and constructive toil and self-advancement, some choose this profession while others do not see in it possibilities for self-realization.

In the course of our studies we paid particular attention to the correlation between concepts about professions among secondary school graduates who had made a specific choice of their future profession and to the study of the implementation of their professional plans. Table 1 shows the high degree of coincidence between preferences expressed for employment and the intention of the respondents to choose a specific area of professional activities.<sup>3</sup>

Another major aspect of this problem was the implementation of the professional plans by the children of workers and employees and the ways they chose to carry out their intentions as well as the differences noted in this case. We determined some differences in the professional plans of graduates depending on the educational and skill standards of their parents.

It is essentially young men and women whose parents were better educated (Figure 1) or were higher skilled who intended to continue their training after secondary school. The share of those who shared this intention was, on an average, 26 percent higher among children of employees than among children of workers. As to the professional plans of the young people themselves, about one third of the group of children of highly skilled workers wished to continue their training in VUZs after secondary school. This was lower than similar indicators applicable to the group of children of employees with higher or secondary specialized training (respectively by a factor of more than 3 and 2). Compared with the children of average or low-skill worker families, 54.5 percent of whom intended to attend vocational schools, more children of highly skilled workers wanted a higher education (Figure 2).

Figure 1.

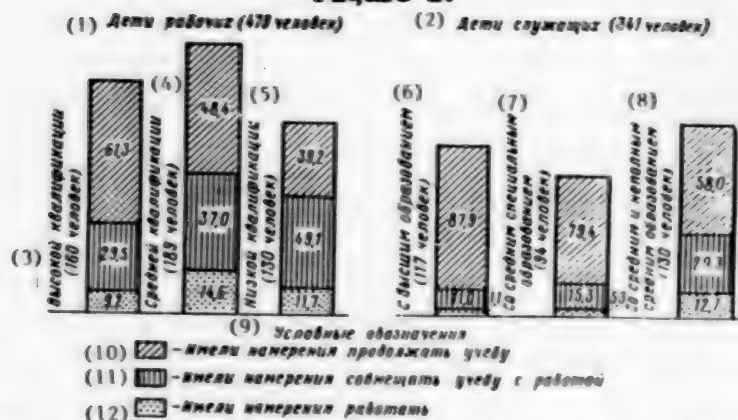
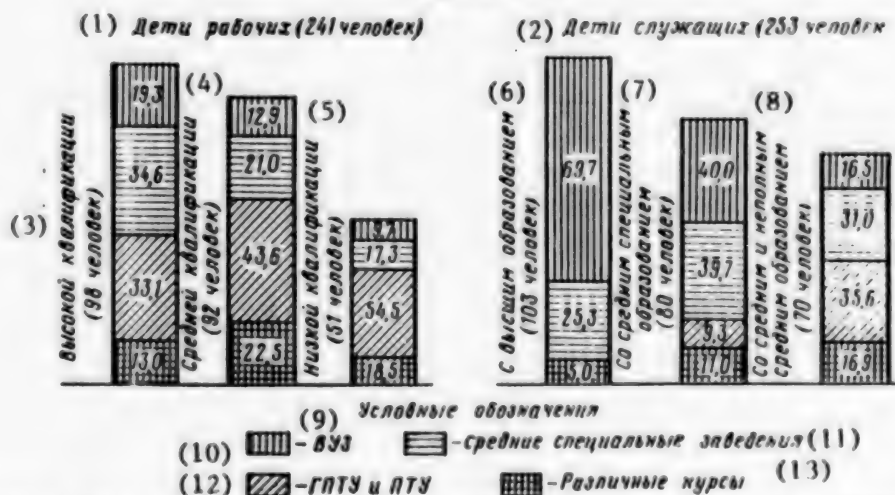


Figure captions: 1. Children of workers (479); 2. Children of employees (341); 3. Highly skilled (160); 4. With average skill (189); 5. Low skilled (130); 6. With higher training (117); 7. With secondary specialized training (94); 8. With secondary and incomplete secondary training (130); 9. Conventional signs; 10. Intended to pursue their training; 11. Intended to combine training with work; 12. Intended to work.

Figure 2.



1. Children of workers (241); 2. Children of employees (253); 3. Highly skilled (98); 4. With secondary skills (92); 5. Unskilled (51); 6. With higher training (103); 7. With secondary specialized training (80); 8. With average and incomplete secondary training (70); 9. Conventional signs; 10. VUZs; 11. Secondary specialized schools; 12. GPTU and PTU; 13. Various courses.

Let us point out that despite a stable orientation toward enrolling in VUZs shown by children of employees (with higher training) and children of workers (highly skilled), we noted clear difference between the members of these categories in terms of achieving their objectives. Whereas in the majority of cases the former did not allow any variations, the second were not all that categorical. Thus, 57 percent of the members of worker families who intended to pursue their studies immediately after graduation and had been unable to



accomplish this, believed that their plans had remained partially unimplemented, whereas 89 percent of graduates of families of employees with higher training considered the same situation a total failure.

Nearly one half of the offspring of worker families, clearly oriented toward training (enrolling in VUZs and technical schools) had a "fallback variant" should they fail their entrance examinations. Thirty-one percent of them planned immediately to go into production and more than 80 percent planned to learn workers' skills obtained within the system of interscholastic training-production complexes. The majority (two-thirds) of the members of this category of respondents had not abandoned their intention of pursuing their training but had merely selected a different means of achieving their objective, that of continuing their studies while working. More than 50 percent of the young men and women of worker families had described their specific professions and 25 percent had named the specific enterprise which they were prepared to join. Similar indicators among young people in the families of employees were, respectively, 13 and 19 percent.

The study of the data we collected proved that the overwhelming majority of graduates, regardless of social origin, are implementing their professional plans. Thus, average failure to implement plans concerning further training affected 22 percent for children of employees and 16 percent for children of workers. Those intending to combine training with work showed relatively low losses, and disparities in the groups were minor (3.5 percent in worker families and 10 percent in families of employees). The most significant disparities were noted among the respondents who wanted to go to work immediately after graduation. The percentage of children from families of employees who express this intention averaged 10 percent (children of employees with higher education, no more than 1 percent), compared with 12 percent for worker families. Those who went to work accounted for 20 percent of the first group (children of specialists with higher education 10 percent), compared with 33 percent for the second.

One of the important features in the stage of professional training is the complex transition from "professional expectations" to "revisions" of previous concepts. On the one hand, there is a review of the professional activity itself as the bearer of specific value characteristics; on the other, there is a secondary process of restructuring the value awareness of the individual, i.e., the criteria of the content and structure of evaluations. According to the obtained data, at that stage, compared with the period of selection of a profession, significant changes were noted in the rating of values, regardless of the type of school.

The prevalent motivations of the great majority of VUZ and secondary specialized school students were "inclination, interest in the meaningful aspects of future jobs" and "possibility to display one's gifts." These reasons were either absent or given lowest priority in professional choices. Dominant in PIU students are "respect and prestige enjoyed by the profession in the eyes of public opinion," followed by the "meaningfulness of the job," and "inclinations and interest in the work." During the selection of a profession, the first of these reasons was in third position while the others were given a rather low "functional importance."

Therefore, whereas at the initial phase of the vocational establishment the so-called social orientation prevailed, subsequently, this orientation assumed a strictly "professional" nature.<sup>4</sup> Prior to enrolling in a school, the young person usually ignores the important aspect of the durability of professional interests. He does not correlate individual psychological features (capabilities, personal qualities) with the specific nature of future activities. Instead, as a rule, the young person is guided by concepts of the most general characteristics of the nature of the job. This proves, yet once again, that the choice of a school is by no means equivalent to the choice of a profession and that the process of vocational guidance continues during the second stage of the socioprofessional development.

The study enabled us to draw an overall picture of changes in the attitude toward the chosen profession. As Table 2 shows, the most significant change in the attitude toward the chosen profession, in the positive sense, took place among PTU students. The opposite was typical of VUZ students. Students attending secondary specialized schools were in between.

Table 2. Changed Attitude Toward Selected Profession at the Professional Training Stage, %

Change	VUZ			Secondary Specialized School			PTU		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
In nature of value orientations	39	56	5	47	41	12	58	34	9
In structure of value orientations	38	60	2	40	54	6	45	38	17
In assessment of the profession	44	56	-	57	41	2	53	26	21

Remark: 1: Positive changes; 2: Negative changes; 3: No change.

In our view, the negative transformation experienced in the attitude toward the selected profession by VUZ students is explained by the "rigidity" of the professional plans which had been drawn up in choosing a profession, at which point the majority of secondary school graduates were oriented toward acquiring a higher education as such, i.e., a specific social status. In the VUZ the orientation assumes a strictly "professional" nature and the attitude toward the future type of activity may radically change. Thus, 47 percent of students in pedagogical institutes indicated as the main reason for their unwillingness to become teachers was lack of interest and inclination toward pedagogical work and disparity between their ability and personal characteristics demanded by the profession. As was noted by 10 percent of medical students, 17 percent of students of economics and 14 percent of students of law, this was the reason for which they would not have chosen this profession; more than 26 percent of all those studied questioned the accuracy of their choice.

The orientation toward continuing one's training in a VUZ as a means of achieving a specific social status, regardless of interest, inclination and ability, frequently leads to further dissatisfaction with the choice and the unwillingness to work in one's specialty. The negative consequences of the rigidity of professional intentions is ignored unless the teacher can determine the instability, the "situational nature" of the plans of the student, which could be possibly corrected.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The sex and age structure of the total number of surveyed and the level of mechanical and natural population growth were similar to average urban indicators. Some deviations were noted only in the employment of the population and their educational level, although even these deviations were not essential (2).
2. The indicator which characterizes the degree of lack of one value or another in a professional assessment was computed according to the formula

$$J = \frac{(+1) a + (0) b + (-1) c}{n}$$

in which a is the number of graduates who believe that said value is greatly inherent in the selected professions; b is the number of graduates who believe that said value is expressed in the profession moderately; c is the number of graduates who believe that said value is poorly manifested in the professional; n is the overall number of respondents.

3. According to data of American sociologists, 69 percent of U.S. boys and girls of worker families believe that they have few chances of obtaining a profession they would prefer, for which reason they have no selection plans (3).
4. The results empirically confirm the dialectical interconnection between "social" and "professional" orientation and the integrative concept which was initially developed in terms of the process of the self-definition of the individual by F.R. Filippov (4).

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**CORRELATION BETWEEN ACTUAL AND VALUE LEVELS OF INFORMATION OF PRODUCTION PERSONNEL**

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86 (signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 168-170

[Article by Adelina Vladimirovna Shishova, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent, department of philosophy, Odessa Polytechnical Institute. Author of the the following articles published in this journal: "Experience in the Study of Production Information of Workers in an Industrial Enterprise" (No 3, 1979) and "Influence of the Content of Information on the Level of Information of the Audience" (No 1, 1984)]

[Text] Considering the current variety of data-gathering methods it is difficult and, sometimes, simply impossible to provide not only a detailed but even a simple comparison among the results obtained by different researchers. Nevertheless, no new knowledge can be acquired without comparing and contrasting data. Consequently, today one of the most topical problems is the standardization if only of the basic methods of applied sociological research, for without it we cannot determine the accuracy of one comparison or another or accurately establish what precisely and under what circumstances and to what extent we have the right to compare and contrast.

The most popular method for determining the level of information is asking direct questions in which the respondents are asked to assess their own level of information ("how well do you know..."). This is a so-called method of subjective evaluations. Another method is that of studying the objective level of information, which takes place by designing and applying special "information tests" with statements or questions of a closed type, which are selected in advance and evaluated by experts. The difference between these two methods is quite substantial: designing "information tests" and simple meaningful answers are a procedure which is much more labor-intensive and difficult compared to the formulation of direct self-assessment questions aimed at determining the ideas of the respondent concerning a given problem. This applies both to the testing procedure and the processing of results.

Which of these methods is better? The purpose of our study was to determine the type of method for measuring the level of information which would enable us to obtain the most objective data and, at the same time, would be quite simple and suitable for widespread use.

## Theoretical Substantiation of the Method.

We proceed from the fact that in obtaining information we must systematically distinguish, on the one hand, between the actual stock of knowledge of the person (objective level of information) and, on the other, the idea of such a stock of knowledge and its own rating by the respondent (subjective level of information). We know that human awareness does not consist of specific sums of knowledge; it is of an inherently value nature which is manifested, in particular, in the attitude of the person toward his own knowledge and his answer to direct questions concerning his level of information (1). Therefore, in the use of the method of subjective evaluations we determine the views of the respondents on the level of their information concerning one problem or another. However, as a rule, no "veracity" test takes place. Yet, bearing in mind the active nature of the human mind and the influence which assessing one condition or another, based on the answers, we gain sufficient reasons to question the accuracy of self-evaluation questions alone.

In order to determine the extent to which subjective information reflects the actual level of information, we must compare data obtained with the help of direct questions and "level of information tests." The high level of correlation of results will enable us to limit the number of methods of determination based exclusively on the self-evaluation of information. In the case of data disparity, more refined methods for assessing the actual knowledge of the respondents should be used. In other words, in undertaking the study we set ourselves the following tasks: 1. To determine and measure the actual level of information of the respondent on the basis of a range of questions formulated in advance; 2. To determine the view of the respondent concerning his own level of information; 3. To determine the existence (or lack of same) of a link between objective and subjective levels of information, measured through a variety of methods.

**Method instruments.** The study was conducted in a number of enterprises in Odessa by the USSR Ministry of Maritime Fleet. The data came from on-the-job surveys. The task of ensuring the comparability of the actual information and the information based on the survey included involving in the investigation two relatively independent but interrelated blocks. The first consisted of closed questions aimed at determining the level of self-rating of information and called for answers such as "I know well," "I know in general" and "I do not know." The second block included open questions of the "level of information test:" a comparison between the obtained answers and the answers selected in advance and rated by experts enabled us to determine the number of "accurate" answers and thus to determine what the respondent truly knew about each of the information elements of interest to the researcher<sup>1</sup>. This comparison enabled us to rate the respondents on the basis of their actual degree of information.

**Results of the Study.** A comparison between the actual level of information of the workers and their concepts about it enable us to determine that the averaged overall actual level "and information is, to a certain extent, consistent with the overall assessment: the curve of self-assessments is roughly similar to that of actual knowledge. In the case of questions about



which the members of the plant's collective were better informed, the self-assessment was rated more highly. It declined as the self-information dropped. Thus, among better informed socioprofessional groups the self-rating was higher: in the case of engineering and technical personnel both actual and self-assessed knowledge took first place; they were followed, in both cases, by workers and, finally, employees. The same was noted among working people with different lengths of work at the enterprise: their knowledge on the questions under consideration were highly rated by those who were also in leading positions in terms of the actual level of information. Correspondingly less well-informed were those who were poorly informed about matters at the enterprise. This essentially applied to respondents who had worked at the enterprise between 4 and 5 years and between 10 and 15 years.

The actual and the self-rating level of information parallel the levels of education: first in this case were workers with higher education and last, those with fourth grade education.

The trends of respective actual and self-assessed levels of information enabled us to compare our results (it is true, only generally) with the results of similar studies conducted among workers of industrial enterprises. Despite the specific nature of the targets, tasks and methods of research, the comparison among results confirmed a certain commonality and stability in a number of statistical trends of industrial level of information we found (2).

Nevertheless, we should pay attention to the fact that the subjective evaluations of the level of information are satisfactorily consistent with objective data in the final account only. A more detailed study revealed that in frequent cases the degree of information was quite substantially different from the actual knowledge. Thus, while better informed on some matters, some respondents believed that their level of information was higher on other matters as well. Such errors were typical mainly among engineering and technical personnel and young (under 18) as well as elderly workers (over 60).

Members of some age and "seniority" groups rated their level of information on some problems differently. Thus, although their level of information was the same, workers under 18 rated it quite low whereas those in the 40-50 age group, quite high. Conversely, although displaying different levels of information, people with 3-4 year and 4-5 year seniority, who were, respectively, first and last in terms of their actual level of information, rated their level of information as identical. The greatest disparities between the actual and self-rated levels of information among those respondents (with an averaged actual level of information totaling 0.36 and a self-assessed level averaging 0.79), were among workers with a fifth-seventh-grade education, aged between 40 and 50. The assumption is the existence of high degree of self-respect in these groups: according to our study, it is precisely in this group that the most skilled manpower is concentrated, people who, among others, earn the highest wages, have reached the highest work ratings, etc. In this case the data of actual information differed from the results of other studies based on the self-evaluation method: they indicate differentiations in the levels of information of workers leading to the conclusion of a high positive correlation between level of information and professional competence (labor productivity, work quality, fulfillment of

output norms, etc.) (3-4). These differences in conclusions are, precisely, the result of the use of the method of subjective evaluations: highly skilled workers, distinguished by their substantial self-respect, substantially overestimate their knowledge, which is what determined the high coordination between professional skill and professional levels of information.

**Conclusions.** The general trend shown by the respondents to overestimate their knowledge is confirmed by the fact that the actual level of information on the totality of questions asked for the sake of comparison among engineering and technical personnel averaged 0.46; the self-evaluation of the level of information equaled 0.79, i.e., it was 0.33 percent higher. Among workers, the corresponding indicators were 0.34 and 0.64, i.e., they were higher by 0.30 percent; the respective figures for employees were 0.24 and 0.51, i.e., they were higher by 0.27. Therefore, the self-assessment among the personnel of all socioprofessional groups was higher and almost identical, averaging 0.30. It is this that makes the self-rating of the level of information a rather rough and approximate method for the study of such information which, at best, shows a general trend rather than provide an idea of the actual level of information.

A comparison between the actual and self-rated levels of information lead to yet another conclusion: although generally speaking a certain consistency may be found between them, nevertheless we find the permanent tendency of the respondents significantly to exaggerate their own stock of knowledge, which makes the method of subjective evaluations insufficiently reliable in the study of the level of information itself. Therefore, the use of the complex instrument of methods for the study of the level of production information is not only justified but necessary.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. Following are several examples of "paired" questions: "Are you familiar with the types of incentives for good work applied at the plant? Can you now list the incentives you are familiar with;" "Are you familiar with the regulation on bonuses to plant workers? Could you name the basic stipulations governing worker bonuses at the plant?" "Are you familiar with the social enterprise funds? Can you list these funds?." The actual and self-rated levels of information for each of these questions were subject to separate comparisons. The averaged sum of the first was compared with the averaged sum of the self-evaluation level.

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## CONTINUING EDUCATION OF YOUNG TECHNICAL VUZ TEACHERS

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(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 171-173

[Article by Aksana Mikhaylovna Nikitina, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior instructor, department of philosophy, Leningrad Aviation Instrument Manufacturing Institute. This is her first article in this journal]

[Text] By continuing education we mean the cognitive activities of a specialist, aimed at attaining two basic purposes: first, maintaining his skill consistent on the level of steadily changing conditions of practical developments; second, the all-round development of the personality.

Today scientists have noted the effect of two trends: the use of production labor in the realm of education and science and the "intertwining" between science and education in public production, which leads to the increased closeness between them and their interpenetration. The efficient utilization of the scientific potential performed by the role of the creative productive factor in the scientific and technical reorganization of society is particularly important in this process. Reserves found in the VUZ scientific sector make us very hopeful (1, p 25).

The creative potential of science in the higher school directly depends on the possibility of the professional mobility, of the inclusion of the specialist in the development of new scientific trends, steady enhancement of skills, mastering the method of research in related disciplines and solving applied problems raised by scientific and technical progress. The quality of training and professional mobility in VUZs are particularly important aspects of the problem of continuing education of young specialists.

Scientific and pedagogical cadres combine within their activities scientific labor with elements of other types of work (lectures and seminars, laboratory and practical work, managing scientific student work, methodical work, education, etc.). Investigation data at our disposal enabled us to analyze the manner in which, in the course of research, the activeness displayed in obtaining additional knowledge from other disciplines is manifested, depending on the age of the scientific-education personnel of technical VUZs (the survey was conducted in Leningrad in 1981 with the participation of the author of this article. The selection included 760 people).

It is interesting that the group "under 30" is second, following the workers "60 or older" in terms of the share of those "who have never exceeded" the range of specialization in scientific research (see Table 1). One out of three young scientists frequently exceeds the range of his specialization, whereas the share of such personnel was 44.6 percent among those aged 40-49 and 38.6 percent among those aged 50-59.

The most active in the use of additional knowledge are scientific-pedagogical workers in the 40-49-year age group. It may seem that to the young specialist the problem of scientific growth and that the prospect of job advancement and involvement in scientific trends and schools would be of particular value. Yet we find here a lagging behind more experienced colleagues. What is the reason for this?

The young specialist is different from his colleagues, in addition to his youth, also by the fact that this "budding" researcher, educator, and pedagogue is experiencing a stage of "involvement" in a specific type of professional activity or adaptation. The latter consists of three stages: first, disturbance of the previous function (in a given aspect of activities); second, partial adaptation (active search for a stable condition); third, a relatively stable adaptation. In particular, the young teacher "during his period of adaptation must learn to adapt to the theoretical course of the subject, gain the skill and habits of pedagogical activities, master the methodology of scientific research, master his own topic and the scientific problems of the collective, which, added up, means scientific adaptation. Furthermore, the teacher must accept the collectives' standards, interests, motivations and objectives. He must master the system of relations between the scientific-teaching collective and the students, i.e., undergo the entire set of sociopsychological process of adaptation" (2, p 204).

Table 1. Correlation Between the Age and Intensiveness of Going Beyond the Subject of Specialization in the Process of Scientific Research, % of the Number of Respondents by Age Group

Age	Frequently	Rarely	Never
Under 30	33.3	50.0	16.7
30-39	30.2	58.5	11.3
40-49	44.6	45.3	10.1
50-59	38.6	45.6	15.8
60 and older	23.7	47.4	28.9

Therefore, a number of difficulties arise in the period of adaptation of beginning higher school teachers, the elimination of which involve certain efforts and take a rather lengthy period of time.

We have had the possibility of considering such adaptation in the course of research activities, depending on the type of department employing the scientist. As indicated in Table 2, the highest level of mobility (percentage of mobility in the number of respondents) is that of teachers in general scientific departments. They are followed by general engineering departments; specialized departments are in the third place. The same procedure in the breakdown of department scientists is found in terms of the percentage of

people moving to areas unrelated to their specialty, considered "a big step." Adaptation restrains the level of mobility. The same trend is traced in terms of the percentage of moving into related areas—"medium step"—and within the specialized subjects as indicated in the diploma—"minor step."

Table 2. Level of Deviation from Specialization According to the Diploma in the Process of Contractual Studies by Teachers in Three Types of Departments, % of the Number of Answers per Group

Department Level of mobility*	General Scientific		General Engineering		Specialized	
	Main Topic	At Time of Survey	Main Topic	At Time of Survey	Main Topic	At Time of Survey
Stable	43.7	21.9	46.7	32.0	58.2	51.6
"Minor step"	33.8	36.7	26.3	35.2	22.3	28.4
"Medium step"	13.9	24.2	18.9	21.3	16.1	16.1
"Big step"	9.1	17.2	9.0	11.5	3.4	3.9

\* The size of deviations from specialization are as follows: "Minor step:" deviation unrelated to changes in the specialization indicated in the diploma of the scientist; "Medium step:" the deviation determines the transition of the scientist to a related specialty; "Major step:" moved to a given research area.

Becoming involved in research is a "hindrance" to topic mobility. The power of this "hindrance" increases in the transition from specialized and technical sectors of knowledge to more general, to basic areas.

How to explain this connection? The reasons for this phenomenon may be found in the subject of activities, the subject itself and the conditions under which the activities are conducted.

Let us consider the first aspect. Specialists working in general scientific departments have a broader range of training in basic research compared with their colleagues in the social and, even more so, the specialized department. This circumstance may be a factor of the greater mobility of scientific-pedagogical workers in general scientific departments. Furthermore, the study was conducted in technical VUZs which, as a rule, train some of their graduates through postgraduate studies. Hence a minimal influence of adaptation to the level of mobility (+6.6) at specialized departments. Such teachers require significantly less time for scientific and sociopsychological restructuring compared to their colleagues in general engineering and general scientific departments, who must surmount an entire set of difficulties in gaining professional experience. In the case of such scientists adaptation is a powerful hindrance to the mobility factor.

The second aspect applies to the subject of activities. The specific type of work based on a contract in a technical VUZ is of a clearly applied nature, which is closer in terms of content of the research to the topics taught in the specialized departments. Furthermore, the personnel of all departments try to participate in contract research in order to increase their income and, sometimes, because of the need to strengthen the material facilities for scientific research. As our studies have indicated, the principal motivation



for specific reorientation is the desire to participate in contract research for the sake of obtaining certain personal opportunities. This reason was named by one third of the respondents.

Obviously, this third aspect governing the conditions of activities of scientific-pedagogical workers in VUZs (incentive, organization of labor, experimental facilities) is also quite distant from the ideal situation. This problem has been under discussion for a long time without, so far, any radical changes having occurred.

The cadre potential in the higher schools is in a state of constant statistically uncontrolled dynamics. The task of sociologists under such circumstances is to study the trends in qualification changes and to determine quickly any "stagnant" or regressive phenomena and help to find "cures."

The young VUZ educators, who will be working under the conditions of the increased influence of intensive factors, must be the subject of particular attention on the part of their colleagues and the administration. Furthermore, a certain system of incentives and opportunities must be created to encourage the more intensive training during the adaptation period. The involvement of young teachers in the already existing scientific collective, and the help and scientific guidance provided by experienced specialist on the postgraduate level could contribute to the acceleration of the adaptation process. This is important not only on the professional level. The nature of the development of the process of the establishment of the young teacher as a specialist will be of great importance in terms of his future as an educator, scientist, pedagogue and person.

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## SEASONAL FLUCTUATIONS IN THE SIZE AND STRUCTURE OF RESORT AREA POPULATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 173-177

[Article by Aleksandr Sergeyevich Orlov, deputy chairman, executive committee, Sukhumi City Soviet of People's Deputies. This is his first article in this journal]

[Text] The comprehensive program for the development of the production of consumer goods and services for 1986-2000, which was approved by the CPSU Central Committee, calls for "ensuring the fuller satisfaction of the needs of the working people for restorative recreation and sanatorium-resort services. The volume of this type of services must be increased by 25-30 percent by 1990 and by a factor of 2.3-2.5 by the year 2000" (1). Corresponding substantial changes must be made in the number and structure of the employed population in the resort areas of the country.

This article will consider some topical problems of the seasonal fluctuations in the size and structure of the population in the resort area of the Abkhaz ASSR, caused not so much by changes in the demand for sanatorium-resort services at different seasons of the year but for other reasons as well, such as the fluctuations in the migration of agricultural workers and in the number of working people in the fishing farms and processing enterprises, etc.

According to the USSR Statistical Administration, in 1984 47.4 million people underwent treatment or rested in the sanatoriums and resting institutions in the country (7). However, such data showed neither seasonal fluctuations in the number of people going to resorts nor the corresponding fluctuations in the number of servicing, medical and other personnel who live and work in the resort areas.

The current methods used in determining the average size of the population in a resort area are based on the population size at certain times or on data on the length of stay of quantitatively determined groups of people (2, pp 69-70). It is assumed that information thus obtained (permanent residents plus visitors) is quite consistent with the actual situation. However, with such an approach data on the length of the stay and the size of the individual demographic and social groups are either totally unavailable or partial. Therefore, we use as a base for computations information on the number of

permanent residents (i.e., people who live in a given place for more than 6 months). Such data is obtained from population censuses and, in other times, based on a method of the Central Statistical Administration. In order to avoid errors in drafting annual and quarterly plans for the socioeconomic development of the area, the economist must take into consideration not only demographic forecasts but also the intra-annual dynamics of indicators of recent years. In areas with a stable population migration as a rule the error is small; in the case of resort areas, however, special methods are needed to analyze and estimate the social structure of the population, for here the situation drastically changes on a month-to-month basis.

The features of population fluctuation in a resort zone are well-known. Above all, they are of a periodically recurrent nature: maximal in the summer months and minimal in the winter. The number of tourists affects a number of socioeconomic characteristics of the area, for changes in the composition of the visitors are not only quantitative but also qualitative. The resort population is affected by the following factors: a. The temporary residency of the visitors who, in turn, may be subdivided into organized (1) and unorganized (2); b. The seasonal migration of the local population for job-related reasons (1) and school (2); and the period of annual leaves (3). The effect of these factors is disparate and, in some cases, also conflicting. The statistical figures do not explain the time and dimension of the manifestation of these factors, for a number of migration features, for example, such as A (2) and B (2, 3) are not considered or studied at all. However, as we know, it is the visitors who have the greatest influence on the structure of the resort population.

In order to gain even a rough idea of the quantitative aspect of seasonal fluctuations in population size, the following computation method could be used: compute the average of the economic indicators most closely related to the number of visitors. In our example we used the average monthly data for the Abkhaz ASSR for 1 year: 1. The number of passengers transported by motor vehicles and trains; 2. Bread consumption; 3. Volume of services provided by public catering enterprises; 4. Volume of sales of foodstuffs; 5. Number of telegrams sent.

If we consider January data, as the most stable month in terms of migration, as 100 percent, we obtain a certain average approximation which reflects the actual fluctuation in the population size (see Table). Although the averaged characterization does not give an idea of the specific share and absolute size of the population and the visitors, it could be used for computation purposes which precisely require a knowledge of general changes and for purposes of determining trends.

Understandably, the nature of correlations indicated here is quite relative. Thus, visitors going to small cities do not mandatorily use transport facilities; organized visitors do not use public catering services, trade is based on the time of year and variety of goods, and so on, and so forth. However, the reliability of this method could be improved by considering similar correlations over a period of several years and broadening the list of comparable variables (such as the number of long distance telephone calls and visits to museums and movie theatres).



**Breakdown of Volume of Services Provided on the Territory of the Abkhaz ASSR  
by Month in 1984, % of Overall Volume of Services Provided in January**

Month	Type of Service						Average Indicator
	Motor Vehicle Transport	Trolleybus Transport	Bakery Goods Sold	Public Catering Enterprise Sales	Foodstuffs Sold	Telegrams Sent	
January	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
February	99.9	99.8	99.5	105.6	105.7	102.0	102.1
March	113.1	120.4	110.1	126.4	120.9	118.2	118.2
April	112.8	113.7	103.5	138.6	125.4	113.7	117.9
May	112.8	128.8	112.5	178.4	124.6	133.8	131.8
June	129.1	142.7	122.1	244.4	155.0	156.7	158.3
July	143.5	152.9	137.6	305.6	183.4	232.6	192.6
August	142.1	145.3	145.9	330.8	206.6	252.9	203.9
September	146.4	143.6	124.8	281.5	170.7	183.3	175.1
October	119.3	109.4	118.9	191.3	152.0	136.7	137.9
November	105.4	85.8	106.4	129.8	122.5	121.0	111.8
December	108.2	80.5	113.2	124.5	138.3	116.3	113.5

**Remark:** The value of the first two indicators at the heat of the resort season is clearly "behind" the other. This is explained by the limited technical possibilities of the transport enterprises of the autonomous republic.

The seasonal coefficient suggested by A. Novikov, seems to express most accurately the rhythm of socioeconomic processes in the resort zone in describing the level of fluctuations in the seasonal nature of the population in different years (3, pp 67-69).

A rather simple method can be applied to determine the correlation between the permanent population and the guests. We know that the census takes into consideration the existing population, i.e., the sum total of people who live in a given settlement at a given time. The 1979 census which was made on 17 January in the Abkhaz ASSR recorded 505,000 people, 468,000 of whom were permanent residents of the republic (4). Consequently, about 19,000 could be considered as visitors, or 3.5 percent. If we consider as a base this correlation between permanent residents and guests, we can compute the disparity between the extreme values of seasonal fluctuations of the temporary population according to the table. The resulting value (107.4) leads us to claim that the Abkhaz population doubles and exceeds 1 million people during the months of seasonal influx.

Such significant "ebbs and flows" cannot fail to influence the republic's social aspect of the national economy. Following are data for 1972-1973: with an overall growth of the average annual number of workers and employees in all economic sectors totaling 140.6 percent, their number rose to 119.3 percent in industry and 163.4 percent in trade (5, p 18). These figures do not reflect the seasonal fluctuations of the production rhythm. They do not take into consideration the fact that in a number of sectors there is a periodical decline in the number of working people, for entire working groups change not only the place but also the nature of their work. Consequently, periodical fluctuations in the size of the population generate, to a certain

extent, seasonal changes in the socioeconomic and technical-organizational aspects of labor activities (6, p 43). One of the consequences of this is the mass mastery by workers in a number of sectors of related or secondary skills. Higher economic efficiency is achieved at enterprises which become rapidly adapted to the conditions of a resort area and to the seasonal features.

Changes in the sex and age structures are inseparably linked to fluctuations in size of the population. In addition to apparent reasons, such as the increased share of young people during secondary- and higher-school holidays, and middle-aged people during the nicest time of year, unapparent social reasons substantially influence the population structure.

In our area visitors account for a steady and quite significant percentage of the entire population. The most accurate sociodemographic data we have are those of people resting in sanatoriums, rest homes and other health institutions. All in all, there are 65 such establishments on the territory of the Abkhaz ASSR. Approximately half-a-million people, i.e., about 40,000 people monthly, come for treatment and rest in such establishments. This correlation indicates the predominance of 2-week travel vouchers and a great turnover in this category of resort visitors. According to our data, organized guests account for approximately 7 percent of the total number.

Determining the social breakdown of people coming here with travel vouchers is not particularly difficult. As to the second and most numerous part of the temporary population—the unorganized visitors—it is precisely they who are the "blank spot." The lack of study of this group lowers the effectiveness of social management and hinders the planning of activities of the service industry. The group of unorganized visitors is formed and functions on the basis of strictly defined laws. This conclusion is based on long years of observation. The structure of "pleasure seekers," by sex and age, coming here year after year as part of the seasonal structure of visitors, is quite stable. In addition to people on annual leave, this group includes pensioners, students and individuals with no defined occupation or place of residence. Pensioners are easily identifiable by the similarity of their composition and behavior and length of stay. For familiar reasons, the number of this subgroup is increasing steadily. Student youth, who come during school holidays, are distinguished by the shortness of their stay and intensive contacts with the permanent population. The seasonal influx in this subgroup has the regularity of a timepiece.

The number of people without definite occupation is small. However, we note in this case an alarming growing trend. The size of this subgroup is virtually unaffected by the time of year.

The formulation of these problems on the sociological level is considered necessary for two considerations: first, in assessing and forecasting a number of important social processes in one of the most popular resort areas; second, for the purposeful quest of the possibility of controlling such processes. We believe that the increased attention of sociologists toward the development of resort areas is important in terms of the efficient and prompt solution of this problem.

Understandably, however, the problem is not reduced to further scientific research: it has a number of practical aspects. The broadening of the rights of the local soviets and the economic autonomy of enterprises and service establishments impose upon them increasing responsibility in organizing the way of life and recreation of the permanent and temporary population. Any kind of practical step taken in this direction could have not only direct but also long-range and very indirect consequences which affect the health, mood, and ability to work of people living in a great variety of parts of the country. That is why the scientific substantiation of administrative activities by local authorities and social organizations is assuming increasing significance in terms of ensuring the normal functioning of the entire social infrastructure of the resort area in accordance with fluctuations in the number and structure of its population and of each individual population category.

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## MUSICAL LIFE OF THE RURAL POPULATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 177-179

[Article by Tamara Maksimovna Snitsareva, candidate in art sciences, senior instructor, Chimkent Pedagogical Institute of Culture imeni al-Farabi. This is her first article in this journal]

[Text] The specific nature of sociocultural activities in the villages, including music, is determined, above all, by the characteristics of the work and way of life of the rural population—unnormed working day, excessive work during the harvest, the need to cultivate the private auxiliary plot, etc. According to sociological studies, the average annual amount of leisure time in the daily budget of an agricultural worker is 2.4-3.5 hours, or almost 2.5 hours less than that of engineering and technical personnel, for instance (1).

Steady contacts between the rural population and professional art are hindered by the dispersed nature of settlements, insufficient development of intrarayon transport systems, and the fact that a number of rural clubs are unsuitable for performances by large ensembles. The specific nature of musical life of the rural population is largely determined by its sociodemographic structure and general cultural standards. Thus, young people who now, as a rule, are secondary school graduates, have more developed cultural demands than members of the senior generation; conversely, the latter are the bearers of traditional musical values related to folk art.

Soviet sociological publications have gained significant experience in the study of the structure of the way the various categories of the population spend their time and their recreation. It has been established, in particular, that involving oneself with art and artistic creativity improves the leisure time efficiency of the rural population. In this case improving theatre, concert and motion picture facilities is of decisive significance. In the view of some specialists, however, mass information media play a particular role in this process (2).

The untimed method of collecting sociological data, is one in which the precise amount of time outlays for each type of activity is not established but determined only in terms of frequency. The system "As remembered" by the respondent (3) was applied to study the time outlays of the rural population

spent in satisfying their need for musical culture (the study was made in 1982 in the Chirchik-Kzyl Orda and Dzhambul Oblasts, Kazakh SSR. More than 500 people were surveyed). The respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they engaged in any type of activity listed in the survey. The method which was used was considerably less accurate than the budget method (measuring time outlays in hours and minutes) in terms of the accuracy of results. However, its economical and efficient nature were substantially higher. In the interpretation of data thus obtained we must take into consideration that it is a question not of the percentage of one type of occupation or another in the leisure time structure but of regularity and the popularity of the singled-out types of music activities.

The study of the data confirms that a characteristic feature of the structure of the leisure time of the rural population is the predominance of individual forms of its utilization; for the time being, the types of activities outside the family are still substantially lower than corresponding urban indicators. The main differentiating factor here is age—the recreation of young people is least of all related to family activities.

According to the survey, quality differences may be found in the way the leisure time is spent by young people and members of other population categories. The share of those who spend their leisure time with their friends is the highest in the 15-18 and 19-21 age cohorts (12.6 and 14.5 percent respectively), after which it begins dynamically to decline. The cultural and educational institutions in the villages are also attended primarily by members of the young generation. Differences between the 19-21 and 46-55 cohorts are more than sixfold. Consequently, the audience of cultural and educational institutions is primarily youthful. Naturally, this has a certain influence on the nature of musical activities which perform not only an artistic-aesthetic but a communicative function. This is not to say that the musical life of the senior generation is any less saturated. The fact that recreation is concentrated on the family is explained above all with the increased cultural facilities of family life, for nearly each home has a television set, a radio or a musical instrument. However, we must also take into consideration the still weak organization of cultural and educational activities in the countryside. This is one of the reasons for the spontaneous nature of recreation.

One may say that equal possibilities have been developed in the countryside to meet the musical needs of all population categories. As to how such possibilities are used is a different matter. In this case individual needs and requirements play a decisive role. That is why in the course of the studies an effort was made to determine the qualitative aspect of musical needs related to the various types of spending the leisure time.

Above all, we can clearly single out activities confirming the active involvement of rural working people in musical life. Thus, men spend 15.6 percent of their leisure time listening to music on the radio and television; 5.4 percent listen to records and tape recordings; 2.3 percent play musical instruments; 7.3 percent spend their leisure time by participating in amateur activities in the village. Similar indicators among women were, respectively,

**Forms of Involvement in Musical Life by Rural Population Category,  
% of Respondents**

Category	Listening to Music on Radio and Television	Listening to Records and Tapes	Playing Musical Instruments	Participation in Amateur Musical Performances
<b>Socioprofessional Group</b>				
Workers	76.5	18.3	1.1	4.1
Rolling members	80.2	17.5	0.8	1.5
Engineering- technical personnel	72.4	22.6	2.7	2.3
Service industry workers	74.4	22.4	2.1	1.1
Nonspecialist employees	72.5	22.6	2.3	3.6
Secondary school and PTU students	68.6	22.5	1.3	3.8
Pensioners	85.2	12.3	1.3	1.2
<b>Functional Standard</b>				
Primary or lower	86.4	12.8	0.8	-
Fifth-sixth grade	86.2	10.6	1.4	1.8
Seventh-eighth grade	84.8	11.5	1.2	2.5
Ninth-tenth grade	80.7	15.2	1.5	2.6
General secondary	78.5	16.4	1.7	3.4
General specialized	78.8	17.6	1.3	2.3
Unfinished higher	82.3	14.9	0.7	2.1
Higher	82.5	14.7	1.3	1.5
<b>Age</b>				
15-16	76.4	16.8	3.6	3.2
19-21	76.8	17.0	2.8	3.4
22-25	78.6	16.4	2.2	2.8
26-30	78.8	15.9	2.6	2.7
31-35	81.5	13.8	2.3	2.4
36-45	86.7	12.3	0.4	0.6
46-55	88.4	10.5	0.8	0.3
Over 55	92.1	7.4	0.3	0.2

14.2, 5.2, 3.1 and 9.7 percent. They are more active in amateur music collectives, pay greater attention to playing musical instruments compared to the men and, together with them, spend less time in listening to music on the radio and television or records.

A particularly high percentage of the leisure time is spent in listening recorded music among students (25.2 percent), engineering and technical personnel and nonspecialist employees (22.6 percent) and service industry workers (22.4 percent). Workers participate more frequently than others in the activities of various amateur music groups in villages (4.1 percent of their leisure time), followed by secondary school students and students in vocational-technical schools (3.8 percent), nonspecialist employees (3.6



percent) and the nonproduction intelligentsia (2.9 percent). Let us also note that the influence of the socioprofessional structure of the village on musical life is of complex indirect nature. Clearly manifested here is the influence of sociodemographic factors such as educational level and age. Performing musical instruments accounts for a smaller share of the structure of the leisure time. As a rule, this type of creative activities attracts young people under 30, who are the main group of people engaged in amateur musical performances (see Table).

The study of the role and place of musical life in the structure of the leisure time shows profound qualitative changes in the content and forms of the absorption of cultural values. The detailed breakdown of labor and recreation inherent in the traditional way of life of the Kazakhstan village has left its specific mark on music demands and needs, which prevents the villagers from exceeding the framework of rituals sanctified by age-old traditions. The situation has now radically changed. The way of life of the contemporary Kazakh village offers extensive opportunities for a variety of individually differentiated forms of satisfying music requirements. This progressive trend is particularly clearly manifested among young people. However, the study also indicated that the involvement of young people with music is quite sporadic and uncontrolled. Although the young people show a tremendous attraction for music, they frequently spend their time inefficiently.

The countryside urgently needs skilled choir conductors, choreographers and heads of orchestras and ensembles. The theatre and art VUZs and cultural institutions and secondary schools specializing in this area are still insufficiently meeting the social requirements of the countryside.

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#### **MYSTIFICATION ON A SOCIOLOGICAL TOPIC**

**Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA** in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 179-181

[Article by Vladimir Vladimirovich Nekhotin, postgraduate student, department of journalism, Moscow State University. This is his first article in this journal]

[Text] For a long time the familiar work by W. Thomas and F. Znanetskiy "The Polish Farmer in Europe and America," which came out in the United States at the beginning of the 1920s, was considered an initial attempt at sociological study of private documents. Soviet researcher Yu.P. Voronov, convincingly proved that Russian zemstvo statisticians had used similar methods in the study of the living conditions of the peasantry which had moved to Siberia from Central Russia much earlier (1). The noted economist A.V. Chayanov (1888-1939), a professor at the Agricultural Academy, who concentrated precisely on the peasantry, was probably familiar with said studies. Obviously, a good knowledge of sociological problems helped him to engage in a rather curious mystification, which we shall discuss, at the beginning of the 1920s.

Anyone familiar with the name of A.V. Chayanov today probably remembers not the strictly scientific works of this professor but five small booklets with ornate titles, behind which the author concealed his name under the pseudonym of "Botany Student X." They were well known among bibliophiles as the "Chayanov publications." To the true collector any such booklet is worth its weight in gold. In the history of domestic book publication, the five Chayanov pamphlets are a very rare bibliographic event. They are an original mixture of serious narration with popular novels and open mystification. To this day literary experts have not reached a uniform opinion as to the genre in which these works can be classified (2).

Available information indicates that A.V. Chayanov was a man with a literary gift and felt hemmed in by purely scientific work. In 1920, he published the novel "The Trip Taken by My Brother Aleksey in the Country of Peasant Utopia," under the pseudonym of Iv. Kremnev. Please note that the novel is set in 1984. The preface, written by V.V. Vorovski, using the pseudonym "P. Orlovskiy" (3) provides a Marxist critique of the economic views of the author. A.V. Chayanov tried to be more serious in this novel than in the

romantic stories written by "Botany Expert X" however, obviously, mystifications were his true passion and he was unable to control it....

The State Library imeni V.I. Lenin has two copies of a newspaper with the following data: "Zodiac. Second Evening Edition. Organ of the OMSKO. Moscow, Friday, 5 September 1984 (neither the old nor the new calendars indicate this date to be a Friday), 2300 hours. No 234b. Editorial premises: 26 Dmitrovka. Telephone numbers 17-37 and 5-29-39. Main office: Krylatskoye Village, Moscow Uyezd. Telephones 3-04-23 and 47-56." The publication is in two columns and the printing bears all the characteristics of Moscow newspapers of the beginning of the 1920s. The "Zodiac" includes the same names and events as those of the utopian novel "The Trip of My Brother Aleksey...." This fact leads us to believe that "Zodiac" was A.V. Chayanov's latest mystification.

Among other curious articles, "Zodiac" includes two notes of interest to us. One is a review of the book by one A. Velikanov "Development of Peasant Public Opinion in the 20th Century." Fifth Expanded and Revised Edition. Moscow, 1984, XII +400 pp. Reviewer T. writes: A. Velikanov's main thought, which is that "in order to study the age one must study the ideas and views not of noted rulers of the minds but of the rank-and-file philistine, led him to bind together ordinary letters and simple diaries." Furthermore, the newspaper includes an obituary written by A. Velikanov himself: "In Memory of the Great Sociologist" Arseniy Nikolayevich Bragin. It notes, among others, that "...the way to the creation of scientific sociology goes, first of all, through the accumulation of scientific experience in the study of individual problems of social practice and, second, through finding forms for the quantitative expression of social phenomena." Mentioned among A.N. Bragin's works are "Velocity of Social Processes and Methods for Their Measuring" (Moscow, 1954), "Theory of Creation, Upkeep and Wrecking of Reputations" and the multiple-volume "Theory of Political and Social Influence" (no place or year of "publication" are given for the last two).

This is a truly false story but with a hint. Essentially, this "newspaper from the future" deals with very serious problems of sociology and the titles of the works by A. Velikanov and A.N. Bragin could be considered requests for studies of extensive areas of social life. In any case, these materials proved that already then many important problems of social development were considered worthy sociological topics.

The author of this article is unaware of any copies of the "Zodiac" other than those preserved at the GBL. Not one of the books on A.V. Chayanov and his works, whether domestic or foreign, ever mention the "1984 newspaper." This also applies to the reprinted edition of the works of the scientist (4). However, bearing in mind his inclination to engage in mystifications, his literary gift and the range of scientific interests, the coincidence of dates and names of the personalities in the novel and in the newspaper leave no doubt as to the authorship of the "Zodiac" materials.



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## AMERICANS' ATTITUDE TOWARD DISARMAMENT AND 'STAR WARS' PLAN

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 191-196

[Article by Rusina Yuryevna Volkova, candidate of philosophical sciences, junior scientific associate, and Tatyana Vitalyevna Kuznetsova, senior scientific associate; both authors work at the U.S. and Canada Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences. This is their first article in this journal]

[Text] The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress analyze the basic reasons for the destabilization of international relations at the start of the 1980s. Among others, the political report noted that "the first group which came to power in the United States, and its main NATO fellow-travelers made a sharp turn from detente to military-power policy. They adopted doctrines which reject good neighborly relations and cooperation as principles of peaceful development and as a political philosophy of international relations. The administration in Washington remained deaf to our appeals to halt the arms race and to improve the situation" (1). However, the peaceful policy systematically pursued by the Soviet Union and the intensifying anti-war movements in all countries, including the United States, have brought about certain positive changes in the international climate.

It is entirely obvious that, based on its good will alone, the USSR cannot unilaterally end the arms race. In his address at the 27th CPSU Congress, Gus Hall noted that putting an end to all nuclear tests and reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons on earth are possible only through joint efforts (2).

What is the attitude of the American public toward talks with the USSR on limiting and reducing armaments? Let us consider the main trends in social moods prevailing on this problem on the basis of mass surveys conducted in the 1970s and 1980s.

History proves that in the course of the postwar period it was precisely the militaristically-leaning circles in the United States who essentially defined that country's foreign policy. It was only in the mid-1970s, when the American government was forced to acknowledge that its military power was countered by the powerful defense potential of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community that the U.S. ruling circles reviewed their

policy of confrontation with the USSR and took the path of detente. This process of reorganization of the foreign policy course was complex and contradictory and affected the public mood.

Throughout the entire existence of the Soviet state, the powerful American propaganda machinery, in the hands of bourgeois politicians, members of big business and the military-industrial complex, imposed upon the masses anti-communist stereotypes hostile toward our country. Naturally, in obtaining one-sided and tendentious information on foreign policy problems the formulation of accurate concepts of events occurring in the world becomes difficult.

The militaristic groups in the United States, which enhanced their activities in the second half of the 1970s, devoted tremendous efforts to discredit the idea of talks with the Soviet Union on control over nuclear armaments and the possibility of concluding peaceful agreements on an equal basis. Efforts were made to convince the Americans that the Soviet Union had allegedly gained greater advantages from detente compared to the United States and that it had benefited from the favorable situation in American-Soviet relations for a unilateral increase in its military potential. The mass information media did everything possible to instill in the Americans mistrust in the USSR as a partner in talks. Concentrated anti-Soviet propaganda was able to convince the majority of Americans by the end of the 1970s that the Soviet Union will violate the stipulations of the agreements and that it had allegedly repeatedly violated them in the past. This false thesis had been and is being instilled in the minds of the Americans along with the belief that, unlike the USSR, the United States is sacredly observing the stipulations of the concluded treaties. This instilled faith in the infallibility of the actions of their country, eliminates the need to penetrate into the essence of complex international situations, for the United States "is always right." The lack of information on the part of the Americans on most important foreign political problems has been established by numerous public opinion surveys.

It is true that of late the conviction is growing in the United States that discussions concerning the unreliability of the USSR as a partner in talks on the limitation of armaments has been deliberately inflated by the opponents of a constructive dialogue. Fear of nuclear war and awareness of the vulnerability to it by the United States have led most Americans to support the idea of concluding peace agreements with the USSR. This trend has been a characteristic feature for the past 15 years. In some of these years, however, there have been fluctuations and mood changes in public opinion. The number of people approving the idea of talks on limiting nuclear armaments increased from 59 percent in 1975 to 70 percent in 1980 (3). Correspondingly, the number of people informed on this problem increased. Thus, whereas in April 1979 the Gallup Poll question "Are you familiar with (or read about) SALT II—the agreement on limiting nuclear armaments by the United States and Russia?" 58 percent answered in the affirmative (4), in July of that year the number of people informed about the treaty had already reached 82 percent (5).

Even before the SALT II treaty had been concluded, the Americans had expressed themselves in favor of ratification by the Senate in a 3 to 1 ratio. The supporters of the agreement motivated their view by the concept that the



ratification of the treaty would contribute to safeguarding peace on earth, limit armaments and favorably influence the economic situation of the country. The opponents expressed the fear that the Soviet Union could not be trusted and that the ratification of the treaty, by creating an illusion of safety, would only increase the likelihood of an outbreak of war.

In June 1979, subsequent to the initialing of the SALT-II treaty, the number of its supporters increased, and for each five people who were in favor of ratification there were three against it. In the spring of 1980, however, after several broad and concentrated anti-Soviet campaigns on the subject of the so-called Soviet military brigade in Cuba and, particularly, the events in Afghanistan, the anti-Soviet feelings in the country increased, which immediately changed the correlation between supporters and opponents of the ratification of the treaty. As indicated by the March 1980 Gallup Poll, opinion was now split evenly: 26 percent for and as many against (6). The balance were confused, for which reason they refused to answer. The extensive propaganda campaign launched in the United States against SALT, the misinterpretation of international events and the speeches by conservative political and state personalities had a corresponding influence on public opinion. However, the opponents of detente failed in achieving their main objective: making the Americans reject their desire for reducing the risk of the outbreak of nuclear war by concluding agreements on the limitation of armaments. As numerous surveys proved, support for SALT agreements remained significant in the country's population and, despite fluctuations, which were mostly of short duration, exceeded 70 percent.

In 1981, i.e., the time when the Reagan administration was already in power and had demonstrated its unwillingness to engage in talks with the USSR on limiting nuclear armaments, two thirds of those surveyed supported the idea of a referendum sponsored by the United Nations aimed at establishing the attitude toward nuclear disarmament throughout the earth. According to the Gallup projections, had such a survey been held in the United States, Americans would have voted in favor of nuclear disarmament in a 2 to 1 ratio (7), supporting not only agreements on limiting nuclear armaments but also the total elimination of stockpiles. By the end of 1981, as in the past, the overwhelming majority—70 percent—were in favor of talks and agreements in the area of arms limitations (7).

Surveys conducted on this problem throughout 1982 determined the high level of support for arms limitations. Thus, 81 percent of the respondents, as compared to 16 percent, were in favor of concluding agreements according to which the USSR and the United States would abandon any further production of nuclear weapons, with the stipulation, it is true, that both powers would retain equal stockpiles (8). The majority—61 percent as against 37 percent—also supported the suggestion of the destruction of all nuclear weapon stockpiles; 76 percent supported the idea of test freezes (9); 49 percent as against 43 percent disagreed with the claim that "the United States should continue to increase its nuclear arsenals, for the existing stockpiles would not force the Russians to abandon the use of nuclear weapons against the United States or its allies" (9).

Table 1

Answers to the Question of the Possibility of Reaching a Nuclear Disarmament Agreement between the USSR and the United States, % \*

Answer	1982	1983	1984
Very likely	13	12	10
Quite likely	27	35	27
Generally unlikely	57	49	61
Doubtful	3	4	2

\* Based on (15).

Table 2

Public Rating of Reagan's Position Concerning Talks with the USSR, % \*

Year	Positive	Rating Negative	Not Certain
1983	33	64	3
1984	33	63	4
1985	38	58	4

\* Based on (16).

In the period between 1983 and 1985, 70 percent and, according to data of some polls, 80 percent of Americans supported the idea of arms limitations. Thus, for example, according to a Harris Poll, which was taken by the end of 1984, 84 percent of U.S. citizens believe that it is time to conclude an agreement which would call for reducing the number of nuclear missiles and warheads by 50 percent, the increase of the military potential having attained an unparalleled size (10).

However, during all that time, as in the past, Americans were worried by the question of the verification of agreements; 74 percent of those surveyed in 1984 believed that the United States should sign no treaty whatsoever without guaranteed verification (11, p 32). That includes the mass information media, which were able to instill doubts concerning the reliability of the Soviet Union as a partner in the talks that allowed the problem of control to assume such great importance and difficulty in the minds of the population of the United States (12).

The majority of the population continues to consider talks with the USSR a rather difficult task and agrees with the anti-Soviet propaganda concept that the Soviet Union is not trying to reach a compromise but a unilateral advantage. This view, according to a 1985 poll, was expressed by 58 percent of those surveyed (11, p 32). At the same time, 71 percent of the population in the United States is confident that should an agreement be concluded with the Soviet Union, the Americans would observe it strictly (13).

Nevertheless, despite the deliberate propaganda campaign, elements of realism have appeared in the feelings of Americans in recent years. Whereas several years ago the majority—58 percent—assumed that the United States is actively supporting a policy of peace (14), in 1985 52 percent of those surveyed disagreed with the statement that "the United States has done everything it could to achieve agreements on significantly reducing armaments," while 56 percent believed that the refusal by the United States to ratify SALT-II was the main reason for increased international tension (11, p 29).

Although as a whole the population would like an agreement with the Soviet Union on limiting the arms race, the majority of Americans nevertheless are quite pessimistic in assessing the possibilities of concluding agreements in this area. Thus, the question which the Harris Poll has asked over a number of years on the likelihood of achieving in the immediate future an agreement on nuclear disarmament resulted in the answers found in table 1.

This pessimism is explained not only because of prejudices concerning the USSR but also the fully justified doubt that Reagan is indeed willing to conclude mutually profitable agreements and is ready to do so. It is no accident that Reagan's policy concerning talks with the USSR has been steadily rated negatively by most Americans, as is clearly indicated in table 2.

The contradictory nature of public opinion on problems of increasing or limiting armaments was clearly manifested in the Americans' attitude toward the idea of the proliferation of weapons in outer space. In the spring of 1983 Reagan delivered a speech in which he called for shifting the arms race to space through the creation of laser and other anti-missile and anti-satellite weapons. The President tried to convince the Americans that by setting up a defense system in space the United States would be able to save itself from the threat of nuclear destruction. However, a survey made soon after the presidential "Star Wars" speech indicated that it was unable to reduce the fear experienced by the Americans of a nuclear war and that the majority (58 percent as against 36 percent) were not supportive of the President's plan (17).

Reagan's declaration on the strictly defensive nature of the program was accepted by the overwhelming majority of Americans quite skeptically: 57 percent as compared to 37 percent disagreed with the claim that "the creation of a new space weapon capable of destroying all nuclear missiles" was the only way of avoiding a destructive war. Nor did the Americans support Reagan's idea that this new weapon would force the Soviet Union to accept suggestions benefiting the United States alone (17).

It was at this point that differences in the views of men and women were manifested most clearly. The opinion of the men concerning the "Star Wars" program was evenly divided: 48 percent for and 48 percent against, whereas 67 percent of women were against and 25 percent were for the program (17). This difference is no accident. It merely emphasizes the recent trend toward political realism and the love of peace expressed by American women as confirmed by numerous surveys.



Such was the initial American reaction to the "Star Wars" plan proposed by the President. Immediately after Reagan's speech a tremendous propaganda machinery was put into action, to calm down the public, extensively advertising numerous statements in defense of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI). The pamphlet entitled "Presidential Strategic Defense Initiative," which was published by the White House, attempted to convince the Americans that the anti-missile system would be of a strictly defensive nature and would make it possible to convert from a race of offensive weapons toward a competition in the creation of a defensive shield and, subsequently, to a reduction and elimination of ballistic missiles and nuclear stockpiles. It was also instilled in the Americans that by implementing the "Star Wars" program, the United States is allegedly not aspiring toward military and political superiority but is exclusively concerned with lowering the threat of nuclear war.

Some changes occurred in the reaction to SDI under the influence of a broad propaganda campaign according to which the defense space system was the only means of protection against a nuclear strike. Soon afterwards the majority (62 percent as against 23 percent) supported the presidential program as a reliable means of defense of the United States. The Americans also changed their attitude toward the role which the "space defense system" could play in talks on arms limitations. Nevertheless, 48 percent as against 40 percent, continued to question the expediency of spending the \$26 billion planned for the implementation of the program and the majority of those surveyed (54 percent as against 35 percent) continued to believe that said system would make the arms race more dangerous (18).

As indicated by the Harris survey, 2 years after the President announced his plan, the Americans' attitude toward "Star Wars" remained contradictory and accepted differently by the various U.S. population groups. Those who voted for Reagan in the 1984 presidential elections approved his initiative in a 55 to 41 percent ratio, while the supporters of Mondale sharply condemned the President's plan--72 percent were against, compared with 22 percent for. Whereas Republicans (51 percent as against 44 percent) supported Reagan, in their overwhelming majority (68 percent versus 27 percent) the Democrats were against. A negative attitude toward SDI was expressed by independent voters as well. Once again different viewpoints on the matter split the view of men and women. Whereas men approved SDI by a majority of 49 versus 46 percent, the latter firmly rejected the idea: 69 percent opposed it while 30 percent were in favor (19).

As in the past, Americans fear that the \$3 billion requested for the development of a space defense system in 1986 is by no means the entire amount, and that the overall cost would reach \$50 billion. This possibility was opposed by 63 percent of the population (as against 20 percent in favor). Let us point out that in recent years an opposition to increased military spending has taken shape and criticism of the Pentagon requesting more funds for military purposes has increased (19).

Therefore, the Americans' attitude toward "Star Wars" plans indicates that although the President has been able to create a number of dangerous illusions among a significant percentage of the population, despite the efforts of the

propaganda campaign Reagan was unable to achieve an unconditional support of his proposals aimed at the militarization of space.

Nevertheless, the mass information media, which are praising Reagan's strategic defense initiative, are not reducing their efforts. The "Star Wars" idea may sound attractive to Americans who fear the possibility of a nuclear war for the idea that the program would allegedly solve the most difficult problem of our time: it would reduce the threat of war with the help of supersophisticated technology.

The Americans have become accustomed to believe that all problems can be solved with the help of perfect technology. This is what propaganda is relying on. The attitude toward "Star Wars" has gone far beyond the initial reaction to the President's speech under the concentrated influence of the machinery for spiritual suppression. It must be pointed out that the people do not always understand what sociologists mean when they ask questions concerning "Star Wars." Thus, A. Finkelstein, who studied this problem, established that 28 percent of those surveyed believe that it is a question of a popular science motion picture; 15 percent accurately link this term to Reagan's program; 9 percent relate it to a space defense weapon; 5 percent relate it to nuclear armaments in general, 5 percent to missiles and 8 percent have no idea of its meaning (20, p 20). For that reason, public opinion surveys as a rule begin by providing a more or less detailed information concerning the new "defense" system and its consequences. It is hardly necessary to point out how tendentious such information could be. Naturally, the answers are based on the obtained information. Therefore, the surveys are used less to clarify public opinion than to shape it through purposeful propaganda. The journal PUBLIC OPINION described in detail the way in which, under the influence of one interpretation or another, the attitude toward SDI changes (20, pp 34-35).

Most Americans oppose the "space defense" program when it comes to its financing. However, the surveys are presented in such a way that the idea appears as something self-evident and all that the people are asked is to consider the efficiency of its cost, as though it is a question of the latest expensive technical novelty rather than a threat to mankind. Once again, as though self-evident, the survey would merely mention that the nuclear system is related only to protecting the United States from enemy missiles targeted at the country. Public opinion surveys are instilling in the Americans the idea that the formulation of this program should help the Reagan government in its talks with the Soviet Union, would be a pressure factor, a kind of "trump card" in concluding agreements on arms control.

As we know, the power factor has always played a major role in American foreign policy. That is why mass consciousness has developed a certain stereotype of foreign policy thinking and behavior. From the American viewpoint stronger muscle makes the United States a country which is militarily and politically strong and is a guarantee of security.

The indoctrination of mass awareness through propaganda, not only through usual channels but through surveys as well, is an effort to belittle in the United States the peace initiatives formulated by the Soviet Union and to

create in the population the impression that the USSR will be more predisposed to engage in talks should it fear a "Star Wars" program. In addition to political stereotypes, the traditional American aspiration to be a pioneer in technology is contributing to changes in public opinion in favor of SDI. For example, although shaken up by the tragic loss of the Challenger crew, Americans did not lose their belief in the need to continue space research. At the same time, such surveys reveal the belief of the Americans that the SDI program will not solve the problem of world security, for having created a unilateral advantage for the United States, it would trigger a new arms race; 7 percent of those surveyed would prefer the conclusion of an agreement with the Soviet Union on reducing nuclear arsenals to the development of the SDI, and 65 percent would favor a return to detente (21).

Unquestionably, the overwhelming majority of the U.S. population wants peace. However, in the spirit of the notorious American individualism and isolationism, it wishes, above all, for its own country to be safe, separating itself from the overall global context and occasionally unwilling to see that in our time security is possible only on the scale of the entire planet. Although public opinion is largely shaped by mass information media, which are obviously anti-Soviet, they are nevertheless unable totally to ignore the peace initiatives of the USSR, although the latter are frequently misrepresented. However, even though not presented in the best possible light, the Soviet disarmament programs offer to the ordinary Americans possibilities of a peaceful partnership and an alternative to increased unilateral power.

The efforts made by our country aimed at ensuring a lasting peace are meeting with a response among all soberly thinking Americans. It is this that explains the shift in the mass mood in favor of a new stage of detente with the USSR. Thus, the latest January 1986 public opinion survey indicated that 74 percent of the respondents approved the Soviet suggestion of the total elimination of all nuclear armaments by the year 2000; 60 percent noted that "the Soviet leader is seriously in favor of achieving an agreement on arms limitations" and only some 20 percent supported the American administration which asked for increased appropriations for the Pentagon (22). The data of this survey allow us to hope that the U.S. public, the mass anti-Soviet propaganda notwithstanding, has enough realism to support the peaceful policy of the USSR.

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## SOCIAL MANAGEMENT METHODS (EXPERIENCE OF THE 1920s)

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[Article by Albert Ivanovich Kravchenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research.. Author of the following articles published in this journal: "Social Factors of Labor Organization within the Taylor System" (No 3, 1981), "'The Managerial Revolution:' Has Ownership Become Separated from Production Control?" (No 1, 1982); "Experimental Labor Studies in the 1920s" (No 4, 1982); "Karl Marx on the Interconnection among the Nature, Content and Objectives of Labor" (No 2, 1983) and others]

[Text] Any discussion on the appearance of modern plant (industrial) sociology in the USSR, the mid-1960s is usually accepted as the starting point. Actually, at that time sociological studies in industry not only became widespread but had also reached a sufficiently high scientific standard. Problems of professional mobility and cadre turnover at enterprises, youth adaptation and satisfaction with the work, enhanced unity within the collective and the strengthening of labor discipline had either been studied or were at the stage of empirical research. Scientific centers in Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk and the Urals specialized in these questions. The possibility appeared of theoretical-methodological summation of data and the elaboration of an integral concept of the social management of the labor collective.

This led to prerequisites for the practical solution of the social problems of labor and to the appearance of the initial sociological services at enterprises. By the mid-1960s sociological laboratories were opened at the Perm Telephone Equipment Plant, the Elektron PO (Lvov), LOMO and Svetlana (Leningrad) and Krasnyy Proletariy (Moscow). Today they constitute a large detachment of applied sociologists.

This article, however, will discuss not this group but its predecessors. The period of the 1920s and 1930s has remained practically ignored in scientific publications and works in the area of social management, social engineering and applied methods of sociological and psychological activities at enterprises are virtually unknown. Is this not the reason why contemporary researchers are forced to rediscover something which had already been

established earlier and are assessing the achievements of domestic sociology inadequately and, in frequent cases, simplistically?

Let us immediately stipulate that it is not possible as yet to bring to light the shortcomings and limited nature of the sociological concepts which prevailed in the 1920s and to assess them simply. Our task will be to consider the approaches to solving problems of social management which developed at that time, and to describe their practical effectiveness.

**Methodological Management Principles.** We know that in the 1920s more than ten scientific research institutes in our country were working on problems of the scientific study and practical organization of labor and management. Furthermore, hundreds and thousands of primary cells of the scientific organization of labor movement, technical bureaus, sections, etc., operated at enterprises and organizations. In 1923 alone some 60 monographs (some of them translated) on such problems came out. During the 1920s and 1930s slightly less than 20 journals were being published on problems of production management and organization (1, p 6), in which the results of specific studies were described. Whereas at the start of the 1920s the initial scientific schools engaged in the study of technical-organizational and socioeconomic labor problems were merely at their embryonic stage, during the second half of that decade their theoretical positions had become quite clearly formulated. Major scientific centers had developed in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Kazan, Taganrog and other cities. We shall discuss in greater detail the main trends and schools dealing with the scientific organization of labor.

The All-Ukrainian Labor Institute (Kharkov) headed by F.R. Dunayevskiy, worked on problems of managerial control, collective leadership and one-man command and improvements in the organizational structure and style of management. Dunayevskiy considered labor and management rationalization above all as a social process (2, p 5). He based his classification on the principle of the structural role of functions within the overall system. Three basic phases within the organizational process were singled out: 1. Initiation, i.e., implementation of the plan for an administrative structure in the initial real actions; 2. Ordination, i.e., the period of organizing the activities of the administrative apparatus until it reached a normal operational level; 3. Administration, i.e., daily work aimed at solving management problems within the existing management system. Correspondingly, three types of functions were singled out: initiative, structural and executive (2, pp 13-16). A characteristic feature of his theory was the aspiration to upgrade the substantiation of administrative decisions. Understandably, greater attention was paid by the institute to the study of orders, reports and other objective data.

The specific studies which were conducted on an extensive basis at that time by the Kharkov scientists indicated that one of the means by which members of the administration avoided the implementation of orders was that of passing on their obligations to the "creative activeness of the masses." It was made clear that petty supervision and unnecessary detailed orders were harming the execution of orders, for the rank and file worker, afraid of making an error, kept waiting for instructions and thus lengthening the time needed to carry out his assignments. A manager displaying an authoritarian style frequently



abused rigid control methods. Constant fear of punishment traumatized the mentality of the workers and triggered opposite results, adversely affecting the administrator himself. The latter began to issue directives covering situations where they were objectively unnecessary (2, p 47).

A large number of methods concealed administrative shortcomings: misuse of collective leadership in the process of management decision making, i.e., replacing personal with collective responsibility and, therefore, engaging in depersonalization; involving superior managers "for coordination purposes;" managers doing the work of the performing personnel, etc. (2, pp 48-49).

The main concept of the Kharkov school--the "rational organization" methodology--called for structuring any type of managerial structure not on the basis of principles adopted in advance but in accordance with specific situations. To this effect parallel alternative solutions to a given problem were formulated, which made an optimal choice possible (2, p 58). The absolutizing of an administrative principle, that of the division of labor in particular, was rejected (for purposes of comparison let us note that the principle of division of labor as a criterion of the efficiency of the organization of management dominated the "classical" management school. Starting with the 1930s and 1940s, this principle was thoroughly criticized, particularly by M. Follett, Ch. Barnard and G. Simon (see 1), R. Likert, and others. As we may see, in our own literature the critical evaluation of this principle appeared as early as the end of the 1920s).

From Applied Sociology to Social Engineering. The study of socioeconomic problems of management at that time was not limited to theoretical-methodological analysis. An urgent need was felt for efficient applied recommendations and for the development of plans for the reconstruction of enterprises. This raised the question of developing a new trend--sociotechnology, the methodological status of which was determined by an orientation toward the application of innovative steps and efficient practical recommendations. The works of A.K. Gastev, who was the head of the Central Labor Institute (TsIT) in Moscow, played a major role in the development of this field of knowledge.

According to Gastev, the science of the organization of labor was to be developed at the point where social and natural sciences intersected. It borrowed from the latter precise experimental methods and support of reliable facts. Gastev's ideas of the use of mathematical methods in social knowledge and emphasis on social experimentation were not new. Meanwhile, in the United States, sociologists with a positive orientation formulated similar slogans. However, differences existed as well. The empirical developments of American sociologists were not aimed at changing the existing system. They were rather an effort to find a solution to the situation which had developed within sociology. A.K. Gastev, who addressed himself to the real needs of the production process, suggested that the old theoretical sociology be replaced by applied "social engineering." It was thus that the question of changing the status of sociological science and its object, targets and assignments was raised. In describing the new science, Gastev wrote: "In the social area, an age must come... of precise measurements, formulas, drawings, control calibration and social standards. However the sentimental philosophers may

have disturbed us by speaking of the untappable emotions and the human soul, we must formulate the problem of the total mathematization of psychophysiology and economics in order to be able to operate with specific coefficients of excitement, moods, and fatigue, on the one hand, and straight and parabolic economic incentives, on the other" (3, p 30).

At that time another scientist--NOT supporter N.A. Vitke--unfortunately unfamiliar to the modern readers, noted the following: "The management of the technical process is being transferred to engineers using the method of scientific analysis, observation and experimentation" (4, p 152). In his view, science is a force within which experience and knowledge are concentrated, and streamlined in logical formulas and scientific summations. What is important is not only theoretical knowledge but practical methods for managing people, for the socialist society not only restructures the state apparatus but also creates for it the new type of people, under the new circumstances and for new purposes (4, p 155). However, Vitke made some errors on the methodological level. In particular, he believed that the "prejudice of old culture" was the essential difference between the natural and social sciences (ibid., p 154). It was on the same basis that he answered the question of the labor collective which, allegedly, could be structured as an "expedient social apparatus" (ibid., p 155).

It may have seemed that the logical conclusion of such ideas would be an appeal for the "naturalizing" of sociological knowledge. However, N.A. Vitke thought differently. The need for a microanalysis of social phenomena, experimentation and observation presumes an attempt to abandon the gross physicality of thinking. A commodity is, above all, not an object but a specific social relation (4, p 156). In precisely the same manner a plant should be considered a system of social relations and bookkeeping should be interpreted sociologically (ibid., p 157). In other words, Vitke called for the study of files, office documents and bookkeeping as a sum total of social labor relations. To this effect, in his view, more books should be published on the art of personnel management, cadre retention and labor conditions, i.e., on the "sociological foundations of administrative work" (4, p 159). He assumed that the movement for rational management (NOT) should not be considered an accidental event in the reorganization of the old society. A new science of socialist building is being created--social engineering or applied sociology (4, p 161). It was brought to life by the requirements of general economic practices which "are forced to take into consideration man as an active factor rather than a passive element in the production process" (ibid.). Structurally, it includes two sections: a scientific organization of the production process (in this case physiology and psychology are the theoretical foundations), and a scientific organization of management (with social psychology as its theoretical-methodological base). The object of the first part is the efficient combination of man with labor tools; the second object is the rational combination and interaction among people in the labor process. It is the second part that constitutes the content of social engineering as a science of joint human labor activities (4, p 162).

The specific nature of socialist reorganization, as an object of social engineering or social management, is that it is firmly based on science. It is not an extraordinary or temporary measure but a permanent, a long-term

social and economic measure; in discussing the foundations of society--its production process and production relations (4, p 163), N.A. Vitke wrote: "The basic and difficult problem of the NOT is not only labor as a physiological problem of cooperation, as a problem of sociolabor organization.... the NOT is a science of social technology" (4, p 140). Although NOT problems face all countries, each social system creates its own style and system of organized cooperation.

Therefore, Gastev and Vitke not only realized the need for the creation of a new science--social engineering--but also defined the overall features of its structure, object of research and area of application. NOT was transferred from a technical-organizational measure to sociological knowledge with a clearly manifested practical orientation.

Despite their similarity, social engineering and applied sociology are not one and the same. The former is a technical activity aimed at improving production organization, taking into consideration the role of social factors and trends in improving labor conditions. Its main stages are the elaboration of sociotechnical plans (workplace organization, time chart for working and nonworking time, operation diagrams, etc.); the application of practical recommendations is a process of new sociotechnical development and the exploitation of the applied systems under the conditions of normal enterprise work. Applied sociology was considered at that time a scientific procedure for ensuring the generation of initial economic, technical and social information. It was based on statistical data, professional testing and sociological surveys. Naturally, from the viewpoint of today's science, the level of methodical support of such studies is considered low. Nevertheless, some achievements were obtained in this area.

In the works published by the Kharkov Institute the reorganization of management was considered a multiple-stage activity. In the first stage "a situation diagnosis was made," for the enterprise; the main problems to be solved were defined. Subsequently, on the basis of preliminary computations, the existing professional-skill structure was considered in terms of the study of the nature of the jobs and requirements to be met by the workers. This was followed by a "qualification standards code," in turn followed by the formulation of a "productivity norm" system, i.e., the study of the individual labor productivity factors (state of equipment, material procurements, consideration of the worker's individual capabilities). Such activities, which are typical of social engineering, require the processing of huge empirical data and a number of repeated experiments (2, p 67).

The task which A.K. Gastev formulated in his work "Use of the TsIT Method in Determining the Production Situation" (1927), called for converting the contemporary enterprise into a huge social laboratory. This required the development of a new science on the social restructuring of enterprises (5, p 159). Hence the appearance of social engineering as an applied science method used to solve the difficult problem of the "man-machine" system (5, p 250). In Gastev's opinion, scientific experimentation and technical rationalization were the logical completion of the restructuring of the production process itself. The progressive form of application of scientific results was the mass movement of shock workers. In particular, this applied to the



Stakhanovite movement which he discussed in detail. Above all this meant reorganizing the work, i.e., improving the efficiency of technological processes, relieving skilled workers from auxiliary operations, etc. Such new developments substantially enhanced labor productivity and increased wages. Although the Stakhanovite movement was only at its origins in 1936, at the time that it was being studied by Gastev the scientist was able to realize its tremendous transforming power.

Nevertheless, Gastev did not belittle the difficulties hindering the application of the Stakhanovite method. If economic managers apply new methods through old means without relying on their knowledge of production laws and prompt servicing of workplaces with everything necessary, the new forms of organization fail to yield necessary results and the idea itself becomes discredited. The distinguishing feature of improper application--"interrupted labor rhythm"--leads to slowness at the beginning and rushing at the end (3, p 334).

Technology of Practical Application. A.K. Gastev's basic idea of "application as a structural component of the internal development of the production process itself" was the nucleus of his programmatic new developments. However, it is one thing to formulate a principle and something entirely different to ensure its practical application. How did Gastev solve this problem?

As a rule, the specialized instructors were put in charge of introducing the new forms of labor organization. They formulated a plan for organization, engaged in a thorough study (frequently with the help of timing) of the labor process, applied the new system and, subsequently, undertook its development and operation. Gastev assumed that the use of progressive methods is inseparable from training workers in the new labor methods (3, p 196). Under the conditions which prevailed in Soviet Russia the use of NOT was possible and necessary everywhere, the scientist believed. In practical terms, he implemented his ideas essentially at technically developed frontranking enterprises. Gastev particularly singled out the electrical engineering industry which was in the vanguard of scientific and technical progress. Let us remember that in the 1960s sociological services were created above all at large and well-equipped enterprises headed by progressive managements.

The scale of innovation activities of NOT supporters may be judged by the following facts. The TsIT provided scientific management for 40 enterprises; "firm contracts" were concluded with another 20. Usually, day-to-day management was provided by the plant administration while planning and preparatory work was the job of specialized "organization brigades" of the TsIT. The highest form of such activity was that of the direct management of production processes at the sector or enterprise. In such cases the brigade members assumed administrative positions (3, pp 396-397). Two enterprises were given basic status. In this case the TsIT planned to organize production in such a way as to apply the entire set of the developed method. The use of TsIT methods enhanced shock work and promoted the further development of socialist competition at the participating enterprises.

**Applied Psychotechnical Methods.** The innovative activities aimed at perfecting social management were not limited to sociological work. An equal role was played by labor psychology or psychotechnological methods. It was precisely they that were considered the predecessor of today's sociopsychological services at enterprises. The specialized psychotechnologist worked at a plant or industrial project while the personnel of scientific research establishments provided contacts with the production process through a system of economic contracts or scientific sponsorship. They solved problems of professional selection and consultation, trained workers in efficient labor means, promoted a lowering of professional accidents and applied psychohygienic and psychotherapeutic methods.

An attraction for psychotechnology in our country developed at a time when many foreign companies had realized that that science could not study psychological qualities required for one type of profession or another by strictly experimental means (5, p 64). Based on the TsIT developments, Gastev suggested a different way: the development of his own, his original methods and programs. This viewpoint was supported by Soviet psychologists L.S. Vygotskiy, V.N. Nyasishchev and S.G. Geilershteyn. Thus, TsIT associate N.A. Bernshteyn proved the limited nature of the approach which dominated bourgeois science of reducing a most complex problem of the human factor in production to a simplistic system of adapting the worker to the labor tool, to the machine. The scientist pointed out the promising nature of another direction: adapting the labor tools to the ability of the worker (6, p 16). As a whole, the psychotechnical movement of the 1920s and 1930s suffered from internal contradictions and not all of its aspects held consistently Marxist positions.

Laboratories dealing with labor reflexology operated at the Petrograd Institute for the Study of Brain and Mental Activities in 1918; there were professional groups and a central laboratory for labor studies. On the initiative and participation of M.M. Bekhterev, the first vocational consultations bureau was set up on the basis of the labor exchange, headed by A.F. Klark. In the course of its operations more than 7 million people were surveyed and a wide network of consultation services was organized in the RSFSR. During that period other major scientific centers included the Kazan NOT Institute, which studied the correlation between the speed of human work and the person's mood, temperament and muscular stress; studies were made of problems of women's labor capability and fatigue of people engaged in mental work. The works of A.R. Luriya, I.M. Burdyanskiy and others became quite well known.

A widespread network of psychotechnical and psychophysiological laboratories operated in Leningrad and Ukrainian and Ural factories and plants. At that time Moscow was the leading practical science center (6). Scientists worked in close contact with workers at the laboratory of the Moscow Electric Power Plant, studied the workers not as test subjects but as active participants in all initiatives. Here psycho-physiological studies were made of work at machine tools and comprehensive surveys were conducted of sanitary-hygienic labor conditions. The administration and public organizations at the Sharikopodshipnik Plant, another enterprise in Moscow, cooperated with scientists from the psychology laboratory of the All-Union Scientific Labor Safety Institute of the AUCCTU. By the mid-1930s a series of experiments on

the rhythmical nature of the labor process was completed, which made it possible to upgrade productivity at the milling shop by 163 percent. In the search for the most economical means of training in new labor methods, scientists compared the work of progressive Stakhanovites and lagging workers. Problems of social activeness, labor motivation, organization of competition and satisfaction with the job were studied at the Serp i Molot and AMO plants. Methods of observation, timing and experimentation, surveys and study of documents and statistical data were extensively applied.

The area of deployment of sociopsychological services of the 1980s is quite different from that of the 1930s. For example, 50 years ago there were virtually no such services in Tiraspol, Perm and Dnepropetrovsk, where the best plant laboratories of the present are in operation. Conversely, at that time Gorkiy had large scientific forces whereas today they are not considered outstanding. In 1932 one of the largest psychophysiological laboratories was opened at the Gorkiy Automotive Vehicles Plant, with its offices for industrial physical culture, sanitary-hygienic studies, and consideration and study of accidents and morbidity and a research sector (6, pp 321-326). In implementing enterprise requests, the AvtoGAZ laboratory developed its activities in two areas by drawing up physiological descriptions of workplaces, rationalization of the labor of women and adolescents, professional choice and rationalization of work and recreation regimens.

Therefore, at that time psychotechnology and labor psychology were a systematic highly professional activity, which combined theoretical-methodological requirements with applied work. Prerequisites were developed for the institutionalization of science: scientific research subdivisions were set up and a system for training professional cadres was established; the journal SOVETSKAYA PSIKHOTEKHNIKA was published. While in the West scientific studies were conducted primarily under laboratory conditions, in the USSR they were taking place essentially at enterprises with an emphasis on socioeconomic factors and the application of socioengineering plans. In the mid-1930s, however, the process was terminated. Ideological-theoretical shortcomings were found in the activities of the psychological technicians (6, p 9). The limited nature of their methodological foundation was manifested in the fact that they were unable to resolve entirely the basic problem which was posed by developing industry--the comprehensive study of the human factor. However, after psychotechnology went beyond the framework of laboratory studies and combined the methods of scientific organization of labor with the achievements of the medical-biological disciplines, it was able to achieve certain results.

The development of applied social management methods in the 1920s was based on urgent social requirements. The economic potential of the country, undermined by the war, was being restored along with the solution of socioeconomic and psychological labor problems at enterprises. This meant, above all, shaping the professional-skill structure of the workers, strengthening labor discipline and changing management styles and methods. Let us emphasize the important feature of the intensification and reorganization of the national economy, the updating of practical work methods and the reorientation of the economic way of thinking of managers which had always increased interest in the human factor in the production process. In that sense the appearance of social engineering and the foundations of social management in the 1920s and



the development in the 1960s and further advancement in the 1980s were dictated by historical necessity and the tasks of restructuring and perfecting the socialist production process.

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## 'RUSSIAN DRUNKENNESS:' MYTHS AND REALITY

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[Text] Prerevolutionary researchers in the social area paid very close attention to a number of most crucial problems of tsarist Russia. However, it was the problem of the alcoholic intoxication of the population that was being exposed most energetically on the theoretical and empirical levels. The results of studies conducted during the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries exposed a number of prejudices and malicious thoughts concerning the nature of drunkenness in general and of "Russian drunkenness" in particular. Domestic science converted quite rapidly from the purely medical study of the mental and physiological influences of alcohol on man to the sociological study of the phenomenon, considered from its economic, political and cultural aspects. The Russian researchers concentrated essentially on the correlation between drinking customs and behavior and classes, family and religion and processes of industrialization, urbanization and population mobility; a study was made of the mass consumption of alcohol in a historical retrospect. The bibliography of such materials includes hundreds of publications which cannot be discussed in a single article. We shall therefore limit ourselves to the following problems: how did the research process develop as whole, how was it related to anti-alcohol practices in those years and what are the main lessons that can be drawn from it?

Russian researchers studied drunkenness throughout the virtually entire 19th century, but most actively after the "wine monopoly" which was introduced at the beginning of 1895, when the government took over the entire retail trade in alcoholic beverages. As V.I. Lenin ironically remarked, instead of the

promised benefits and, above all, a reduction of drunkenness, the opposite took place: "the opening of vodka stores despite the will of the population which petitioned for the opposite, and increased street drunkenness" (1). Public opinion was concerned and sharp objections were published in the press by L. Tolstoy, A. Kon, V. Bekhterev, M. Kovalevskiy and others. Violent debates broke out during the sessions of the State Duma. In an article typically entitled "Dangerous Statehood," the journalist M. Menshikov expressed the general concern with the situation: "We are leading our entire people to alcoholism. This is a horror the significance of which is concealed only by a general profound ignorance" (2).

Under such circumstances, a scientific picture of the phenomenon had to be drawn up. The scientists realized that the root of the evil went much deeper than the type of organization of alcohol sales. Alcohol consumption over the past 300 years had been steadily increasing, particularly in the 19th century. It was this that determined the historical approach to the problem.

The researchers immediately encountered the popular legend of the particular predisposition of the Russian people to vodka. However, deeper studies of history proved differently. For a long time, the "prestige" form of alcohol consumption predominated in Russia: expensive feasts were accessible only to the nobility. They were not merely a means of entertainment but also of strengthening diplomatic contacts, concluding commercial contracts, paying respect to one's neighbor, etc. As to the mass consumption of strong alcoholic beverages, it began to develop by the end of the 16th century, when alcohol production and sales were taken over by the state (in 1598 Boris Godunov categorically banned the production and sale of vodka by private individuals. "Royal taverns" were opened in the cities. This was followed by a decline in consumption. Starting with 1649, however, Aleksey Mikhaylovich definitively made alcohol sales the exclusive monopoly of the treasury). Prior to that, such sales were handled by "free taverns," which functioned seasonally (in the autumn, after the farm season was over, and during the winter). It was noteworthy that the tavern keeper was elected by the population for a strictly defined term. Furthermore, social control was exercised by the municipal self-governments, which supervised the quality of the beverages (most of them were not very strong), measures (abuses were condemned, stopped and ridiculed), the customers (adolescents and women were virtually excluded), and the type and style of intercourse at the table (the taverns were a variety of a men's club). The elimination of this institution and creation of a system of state taverns (in 1552 there was only one, while in the middle of the 19th century there were more than half a million) radically changed the situation: alcohol consumption became a mass poorly controlled process (3). It was based on the greed of the government which earned fabulous income from mass alcohol sales. Let us consider 19th century data: in 1819 beverage income accounted for 11 percent of budget revenue; it accounted for 38 percent in 1859 and doubled in a period of 20 years (1865-1885). It was precisely then that the term "drunken budget" appeared (4).

Nor should we ignore the political considerations of tsarism. Catherine II herself had said that "a drunken people is easier to rule." The words of the representative of Russian conservatism, K. Leontyev, to the effect that "schools are more harmful than taverns," and the opinion of one of the last



ministers of education, that "vodka is the best bulwark against politics" (5) are widely known. Briefly, better binges than mutinies! The democratic press considered with full justification alcohol monopoly a step taken during the time of Ivan the Terrible, who had set up taverns in the newly conquered Novgorod a means "to weaken the people."

Drunkenness had its foreign policy aspect as well. Many of the military adventures of tsarism were actually financed with "drunken money." Had there been no alcohol income "there would have been no barbaric campaign against China, the shameful pacification of Persia or the infamous war against Japan" (ibid.). Indicative in this respect is the complaint voiced by journalist P. Kopyev: "By virtue of the conditions of our life, even the most innocent anti-alcohol propaganda was identified with propaganda which was threatening to weaken the foundations of the state" (6).

The industrial production of inexpensive vodka made of potatoes was undertaken in the 19th century. This made alcohol almost universally accessible. Drinking customs and ceremonies, concepts and stereotypes began to take shape. Surreptitiously, an atmosphere of tolerance of drunks began to develop (as long as they did not act like hooligans!). Gradually, the consumption of alcoholic beverages began to accompany all basic forms of activities (7). Drinking became an attribute of the national way of life.

The successes of Russian statistical science at the turn of the century are universally known. A great deal was also done to determine the features of the alcohol situation. However, the researchers not only determined the real situation with drunkenness and its sorry consequences but also came across puzzling features. For example, empirical data confirmed the mass attraction for alcohol on the part of people with the lowest income. Furthermore, increased material wellbeing was accompanied by increased expenditures for alcohol. Disparities were revealed in the study of the influence of culture (education) on the alcohol situation. On the one hand, a low cultural level and mental underdevelopment under the conditions of stupefying labor excluded proper relaxation and intensified the desire for alcohol which offered the possibility of relaxing and forgetting the burdens of daily life. On the other hand, statistics indicated that in the large cities—centers of culture and education—drinking was heavier than in less urbanized areas. The researchers noted unexplainable drops and increases in the consumption of alcohol by year or 5 and 10 year periods and by season (consumption reached its peak in autumn and winter). More differentiated empirical studies were made in order to refine state statistical figures (production and sale of alcohol, income to the treasury and sobering-up stations (the class divisions in police statistical figures became immediately apparent: the overwhelming majority of individuals taken to police precincts and sobering-up stations were members of the lower classes; members of the privileged strata who were taken to such stations were included in official statistical data only if they had committed a crime under the influence of alcohol)); alcohol consumption was studied by climatic, geographic, industrial and rural areas. Studies were also made of the family budgets of the various population strata. It was on this basis that the hypothesis, popular for a while, was formulated, to the effect that since Russia was essentially an agrarian country, the reason for all seasonal and regional fluctuations in alcohol consumption were caused by

"Mister Harvest," which increased the purchasing power of the bulk of the population, while the fact that blocked alcohol consumption was the price. The investigation of this assumption led to various refinements and conclusions on the purely factual and purely methodological levels (8). In particular, a number of sociologists began to accept the view that the main culprit for said fluctuations and for the overall intensification of alcohol consumption was "Mister Capital," or, more accurately, the consequences of its victorious development in the country, the proletarianization of the population and its urbanization, with its stressed rhythm of life, etc. As to good or bad harvests, they had only an indirect influence on this process. It was no accident that raising the prices of alcoholic beverages or reducing the places and times of trade in alcohol as a measure of governmental control were, as a whole, unsuccessful, for they did not lower the consumption of alcohol but merely changed its forms and increased sales in the remaining drinking establishments. A number of new empirical studies were conducted during the first decade of the 20th century, covering a broad range of problems. Some results of such studies were recently summed up by F.E. Sheregi (9). Expenditures for alcoholic beverages incurred by the various strata of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, the importance of alcohol, school and army life, the consumption of alcohol by women, adolescents and children, drunkenness as a factor of crime and, finally, the sociopsychological characteristics of alcohol addicts were determined. The studies confirmed that drinking was 3 to 4 times higher in cities than villages and in industrial and capital cities, compared to provincial towns and that a significant percentage of the rural population consumed alcoholic beverages precisely in the cities, after selling their produce. In the countryside a clear differentiation was established: kulaks and the poor drank a great deal, although for different reasons, while the middle classes engaged in very moderate drinking, considering vodka a hindrance to farming (10). Another differentiation was found among the urban proletariat: with wage raises and improved housing conditions and by including workers in educational, trade union and political activities, expenditures on alcohol dropped sharply. The resistance of the working people to the process of alcoholization was established, which was considered an economic effort to turn them into draft animals. Members of many well paid professions, such as metallurgical workers, printers and others, spent less on alcohol than workers earning traditionally low wages—lumbermen, loading workers or bakers (11). The establishment of such empirical correlations contributed to the conceptualization of the alcohol problem (I. Yanzhul, V. Dmitriyev, S. Pervushin and others).

According to Dmitriyev's theory, periodical economic upsurges and crises in domestic capitalist industry, which affected agriculture as well, and which periodically triggered the influx of the population into the cities or temporary outflows, were the base for the intensive alcohol addiction of the Russian population and of all fluctuations in this process at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. The result was the creation of favorable conditions for alcohol addiction. First of all, the urban proletariat increased, among whom expenditures for alcohol accounted for no less than one third of the family budget (12, p 177). Almost all researchers (Voronov, Lositskiy, Chernyshev, Dmitriyev, Vinogradova) have pointed out that to the industrial worker vodka becomes a "object of prime necessity," for it

is the only one which can dull the heavy feelings caused by a constant "overexertion, poor nutrition, lack of confidence in the future" (ibid.). It is only in the tavern, A.P. Chekhov wrote with sad irony, that workers "sober up from this nightmare." Secondly, in the city the recent peasants developed a new perception of money and the cost of it (M. Gorkiy splendidly depicts this in "Chelkash"). Thirdly, working women, freed under urban conditions from patriarchal supervision, also took up drinking, thus increasing the ranks of alcohol consumers. When in periods of industrial decline and unemployment part of the urban population returned to the countryside, it brought with it the concepts of drinking it had developed in the city. According to Dmitriyev, a number of circumstances which either encouraged or hindered this process became wedged in this basic correlation between the rhythms of alcohol addiction and the condition of industry: human health, ethnic and regional characteristics of the way of life and religious beliefs. Although on the surface Dmitriyev's picture was multi-dimensional, he persistently gave priority to the economic factor as a permanent value, considering the others as variables. It is precisely this that explains the stimulating effect of his studies on all subsequent work. In particular, it became clear that it was necessary to study more thoroughly the problem of the classification of mass alcohol consumption by type (subject of consumption) and to study the conceptual apparatus. Yanzhul and Dmitriyev made use of a purely quantitative typology (moderate and immoderate, regular and sporadic consumption). S. Pervushin suggested a more complex approach. He took into consideration the results not only of quantitative but also qualitative changes and, which is particularly important, subordinated his classification to the prevention of alcoholism (13). He was the first in scientific publications to introduce a somewhat understandable distinction among concepts such as "alcohol consumption," "drunkenness" and "alcoholism," which had been frequently considered synonymous. Pervushin identified three variants of a need for alcohol and, correspondingly, three types of alcoholism: 1. "table" consumption, described as "appetizer." This promoted the dietary function of alcohol. 2. "ceremonious" consumption, under the slogan of "everyone drinks and so do I." This was usually accompanied by the ceremonial interpretation of alcohol as a custom, a ritual inherited "from ancient times." 3. "narcotic" consumption, the purpose of which is to forget, to release stress, to relax and to throw away the burdens of life. This is its recreational interpretation (13, p 51). In all three variants moderate drinking (its quantitative indicator varying broadly among individuals, depending on a number of circumstances such as health, sex, age, funds, etc.), displayed the Russian's well-wishingness and tolerance.

According to Pervushin, whose findings were supported by many researchers, such as V. Bekhterev and D. Voronov, the first type of alcohol consumers is mainly found among the higher strata; the second, among the peasantry; the third, most frequently among workers, although it is occasionally found in the other social classes and strata. The first and the second types of drunkenness can be efficiently fought through legislative measures, restricting the production and sales of alcohol and reducing the prices of other commodities. Here anti-alcohol education and the creation of conditions for healthy popular entertainment proved to be quite effective. As to the third type of alcohol consumption, such steps would be helpless, for they do not eliminate the reasons for it. In this case, the researcher notes, it is



not the bottle that must be taken away from the person, but the person must be taken away from the bottle. Pervushin assumed that some of the reasons for the latter type of drunkenness, such as dissatisfaction with oneself and the world, the contradiction between the infinite nature of human aspirations and the limited means for attaining them, were essentially unremovable and would parallel the increase in culture. In the view of the scientist, that is precisely why the uprooting of various types of drugs from social life was so difficult. Neither material nor spiritual conditions have become ripe for the full solution of the problem: the population acts in the role of a passive object of legislation, being as yet unable to become an active and conscious force in the anti-alcohol struggle. The scientist cautiously reminds us that this requires a radical restructuring of the entire social life on the basis not of private but of public ownership of the means of production.

We must point out that a similar view was expressed by many other domestic researchers. Thus, A. Shilov, the author of numerous articles and pamphlets on this matter, wrote that the Russian people realizes the evil and harm of alcoholism but "is hindered in its aspiration to sobriety by the higher classes" (14).

No one more than the workers was aware of the need to fight drunkenness. In 1905 the first soviets of worker deputies banned trade in alcoholic beverages and closed down taverns in proletarian districts. Subsequent surveys of workers proved that the struggle against alcohol would be successful only when "the Russian people will feel themselves first class citizens and would not only leave need and poverty behind but would also rise to a politically knowledgeable level, worthy of human existence" (5).

The first All-Russian Anti-Alcohol Congress met in February 1910. It was greeted by L. Tolstoy, M. Kovalevskiy and the entire progressive public. However, before its opening most of the worker delegation was arrested, which immediately created "an atmosphere of hopelessness for all initiatives" (15). The workers sent new delegates, whose speeches confirmed the worst fears of the government: they sharply criticized the "drunken budget" and described alcohol intoxication as "one more obstacle on the hard path to freedom from all oppression and exploitation" (ibid.). It was such feelings that led to the "dry law," which was passed by the tsarist government on 18 July 1914, initially for the period of mobilization and, subsequently, for the duration of military operations. This step was a forced, an exceptional step dictated by the war. The reform was based on one set of circumstances but brought to life by another, which immediately affected its essence.

The surprising introduction of "forced sobering-up" in Russian life triggered a number of most varied and unexpected consequences. Scientists made surveys, and studied the influence of the ban on economic life, on the way of life and recreation of the population, and on the social mentality of various population groups. Particular attention was paid to the peasantry, for that segment of the population had to convert to total abstention. Studies covered huge parts of the country--Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Moscow, Kostroma, Penza and Vologoda guberniyas and the Maritime Kray. The following correlations were established: as a whole, the countryside took to the "dry law" more easily than the town. In the economic area, where "vodka dues"

accounted for up to 20 percent of gross profits, the situation changed for the better, for material losses related to drunkenness, such as low labor productivity, unprofitable property sales and purchases, fires, loss of inventory, etc., were partially eliminated or reduced. Drinking customs (celebrations were of tremendous importance in hiring a worker at a lower wage as a means for postponing the repayment of debts, social rallies) were replaced by business considerations. Unexpectedly, there was demand for tractors, higher quality grain and cattle in the countryside. Since under wartime conditions such demand could not be met, deposits in savings accounts increased (between August 1914 and April 1915 rural savings deposits increased by 261.7 million rubles, whereas they had increased by no more than 6.5 million rubles during the same period in the preceding year).

The way of life gradually changed: according to surveys, the cost of marriages and holidays was no longer ruinous, declining by a factor of 10-15 almost all of it at the expense of alcoholic beverages. "Dry" marriages, christenings and memorial services appeared. "Ritual consumption" began to disappear in the countryside. The consequence was a comprehensive drop in hooliganism, improved family relations, increased desire for knowledge, applied in particular, and greater interest in public affairs. The ban affected more seriously the older age groups for the percentage of drinkers here had always been higher than among young people. The proletarian strata in the countryside—daily workers and farm hands—were particularly opposed to the "dry law" (16).

Studies conducted in industrial areas indicated that from the very first months of the enactment of the "dry law" absenteeism dropped by 27 percent or more; labor productivity increased by a minimum of 7 percent, the quality of output improved, the workers displayed a "thoughtful" attitude toward their jobs and conflicts with the administration dropped by almost one half (17).

However, the tsarist government proved to be a poor experimenter. A withdrawal from the initial intent occurred soon afterwards. Why? Above all because of economic circumstances. Banning the production and sale of alcohol meant an annual deficit of 725 million rubles for the treasury. This forced the government to increase taxes, leading to a general increase in the cost of living. The "alcohol capital," which was primarily that of the nobility, pressured through the state council the administration and the self-governing authorities, weakening the ban "by petition" of individual cities, uyezds and rural communities. Beer, grape wine (frequently falsified) appeared and alcohol smuggling expanded. The "table consumption" of alcohol, which was prevalent essentially among the prosperous families, suffered virtually no change. This was due to several reasons: higher personal alcohol stocks, clandestine trade in a number of coffee shops and restaurants, and the black market. Furthermore, the official circles constantly emphasized that the ban on alcohol was a temporary, a forced measure. Under these circumstances, alcohol concepts and customs could not be changed seriously. Sociological studies at the end of 1915 and beginning of 1916 indicated that alcoholic "drug consumption" had come closer to its previous indicators (the number of police detentions, hospital treatment cases, etc.). Drinking customs adapted themselves to the changed circumstances and assumed distorted aspects: the people began to stupefy themselves by drinking lacquer, varnish and methylated

spirits. In the countryside, where such surrogates were not available, a vodka substitute--moonshine--appeared ubiquitously and in huge quantities (18).

Briefly, the enthusiasm of the initial years, which was sometimes almost compared to the "emancipation of the peasants in 1861," began to decline rapidly. On the eve of the revolution new evaluations appeared in the press, claiming that the sociopsychological experiment failed because of its spontaneous and unplanned nature and the class egotism of the reformers (ibid.).

During the first years of the Soviet system many prerevolutionary researchers working on the alcohol addiction problem, such as Bekhterev, Pervushin and Voronov, continued their work under the new conditions, for which reason the scientific works of the end of the 1920s were based on the entire preceding experience. Domestic history students will find interesting not only the line of this cognitive continuity but also the important feature of Russian sociology of the beginning of the 20th century, such as the attempt to develop a theory of social problems based not on philosophical a priori premises, as was usually the case at that time in the development of a "general sociology," but on the solid platform of empirical data. Naturally, a number of studies of that time suffer from theoretical and methodological errors and other shortcomings. Dmitriyev, for example, can be blamed for his straight economic determinism and Pervushin for a certain psychologism. The quantitative measurement criteria used by some organizers of the surveys occasionally presented the opportunity for quite extensive fluctuations in the interpretation of phenomena of alcohol addiction. Sometimes the selection was too small and its substantiation was not always convincing; there was an abstract classification of the population by amount of and reasons for alcohol consumption. All of these omissions of our predecessors, however, should not conceal the main fact: Russian sociologists saw in drunkenness and alcoholism not simply a personal vice which depended on the good or ill will of the drinker but a polyfunctional social phenomenon, closely related to economic, political and daily life and cultural factors. Many of the empirical results, conceptual apparatus, classification of types of alcoholism, strategy of prophylactic measures and the idea of developing a long-term anti-alcohol program on a strictly scientific basis, which were obtained at that time, remain relevant to this day.

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#### ANOTHER DATE OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE THEORY OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC REVOLUTION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 209-213

[Article by Vladimir Aleksandrovich Borisov, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Author of the book "Perspektivy Rozhdayemosti" [Birthrate Prospects] (1976). This is his first article in this journal]

[Text] More than 50 years have passed since the idea of a demographic revolution was originally formulated. Since then it has been the subject of lively discussions by specialists. Who originated this theory? Any demographer would tell you that it was Adolph Landry.

Not at all, claims Czechoslovak researcher Alena Subrtova. It is with a presentation of her article published in Czechoslovakia (1) that we shall begin our narration which, in a sense, is like a mystery story.

A collection of the works by A. Landry (1874-1951) came out in Paris in 1934. The name of the book was "A Demographic Revolution" (2). It is since then that this new term has been linked to the name of this French scientist.

However, as early as the 1920s American sociologist N. Heimes used the term "vital revolution," or "revolution in population natural dynamics" (3). Another American, W. Thompson, also discussed the question of "revolutionary changes" in demographic development somewhat before A. Landry, in 1930 (4).

Naturally, this is not a question of terminology but of the extent of development of the concept. If we look at the history of ideas from this viewpoint, the championship should go to Leon Rabinowicz, who described as "demographic revolution" the conversion to a new type of population reproduction 5 years before A. Landry (1929). The viewpoint of the former is substantially different from that of the latter.

The idea of demographic types of reproductive population were presented by Landry for the first time in his article "Three Basic Population Theories" (1909) (2, pp 169-192). Subsequently, in his article "The Idea of Progress" (1924) he formulated the concept of the three population reproduction systems (ibid., pp 193-204). The first was described by the author as primitive. In



this case neither marriage nor birthrate are regulated; the living standard of the majority of the population equals the survival minimum and the main regulator of population size is the mortality rate. Under the second system, the birthrate is limited as a result of postponing marriages and bachelorhood (under the direct influence of economic factors). The third system is the present one. Its main feature is the conscious limitation of the birthrate, characteristic of most economically developed countries. However, these types of population reproduction and historical ages are not literally correlated by Landry. Thus, for example, he classifies 18th century England and France under the second system and ancient Greece and Rome under the third, for it is precisely there that a conscious limitation of the birthrate began. The scientist did not consider the conversion to the new type of reproductive behavior historically determined. Landry accepted the possibility of reduced birthrate in France as following the model of the antique states. He assumed that sociocultural factors, such as the decline in mores, drastic lowering of childbirth in the higher social classes and loss of confidence in certain ideas identically influence population reproduction whatever the historical stage. Landry's predictions were quite pessimistic: a drop in the birthrate could lead to regress and even to the death of civilization (*ibid.*, p 203). This could be opposed only by changing psychological circumstances. Actually, Landry reduced the demographic revolution merely to the mass conscious limitation of the birthrate. He did not relate the latter to social relations and did not see in said process basic quality differences between it and similar trends in the distant past.

This system is vulnerable not only from the viewpoint of contemporary science but also in comparison with the ideas formulated by Rabinowicz. In the period between the two world wars he came the closest to interpreting the complex set of reasons which lead to changes from one type of population reproduction to another. Incidentally, the author was neither a professional demographer nor a sociologist. Leon Rabinowicz, a Pole by nationality, was born in 1906. He taught law at Geneva University and in 1932 became a doctor of law at Warsaw University. All of his works dealt with criminology and penology. The only exception is his book on demography—"The Problem of the Population in France"—which was published in Paris in 1929 (5). It is worth noting that the subtitle of his work was "Essay on Population Sociology." In his monograph, the author made use of Marx's "Das Kapital" and works by Engels, and cited G.V. Plekhanov, A. Bebel and K. Kautsky. Rabinowicz considered the method of historical materialism a "priceless guide," emphasizing that until that time this method had been insufficiently used in the study of demographic processes.

Marx's thesis is basic to the author: there is no abstract population law; there are historical trends in this area, determined by the production method. Accordingly, using specific data, Rabinowicz brought to light the population laws with their corresponding reproduction types of various historical ages. Thus, during the period of barbarism and savagery, it was under the constant threat of a drastic decline caused by insufficient nutrition. Abortions, infanticide and the murder of the old were commonplace. In the period of transition from picking and hunting to farming and animal husbandry, the value of the human factor as manpower increased. Customs and mores as a whole contributed to the growth of the birthrate. In analyzing the slave-owning

production method, the author reached the accurate conclusion of the existence at that time of a relative overpopulation. The study made by Rabinowicz of the reasons for the failure of the demographic policy of ancient Rome remains relevant. In his view, characteristic of the age of feudalism were the "inertia of the socioeconomic infrastructure," with a corresponding "inertia and immobility" of demographic development and high birth and mortality rates. Addressing himself to the period during which the European countries began to pursue a policy of colonial expansion and the formation of financial capital, the scientist once again found the existence of a close link between economic, social and political development, on the one hand, and demographic processes, on the other.

Rabinowicz considered in a separate chapter, which he titled "The Demographic Revolution," changes in population reproduction in the industrial age. The industrial revolution is not an artificial change but a progressive transition from one production method to another. Following the establishment of the new economic and technical base, after a while demographic processes as well change. "Without fear of exaggeration," Rabinowicz writes, "one could say that the industrial revolution brought about a real demographic revolution. It could be considered from three viewpoints: increased population size, shifting of demographic centers and the urbanization process" (ibid., p 139).

The author proved the transition to the new type of reproduction by taking England as an example. He singled out four transition phases. In defining the criteria, instead of the traditional method (reduced population growth rates as a result of lowered birthrate) the scientist chose a different way. He took as a base changes in the settlement of the population, above all the migration of people to industrial centers and the creation of prerequisites for the appearance of new reproduction concepts. In this connection, Rabinowicz criticized Malthus' theory.

The scientist studied drops in the birthrate on the basis of French data. Here as well the author used a very productive method: he considered in detail differentiations in birthrate by social group and, at the same time, made a comparative analysis of population dynamics in the largest European countries. As a result, Rabinowicz not only reached the conclusion that France needs a new demographic policy but also substantiated a number of truly constructive steps. Legislative measures aimed at upgrading the birthrate cannot bring about desired results, for they leave virtually unaffected the socioeconomic foundations of society. One must struggle above all for a reduction in the mortality rate. The main problem here is to reduce mortality among the poorest social strata. This calls for a more equitable distribution of the social wealth.

In conclusion, Rabinowicz asked the following: what kind of demographic development will Europe have in the future? The theories of the reasons for a decline in the birthrate, which prevailed at that time, were classified by the author into biological, demographic, psychological and sociological. He rejected in principle the racial concepts which involved most biological ideas without, however, formulating his own theory on the matter. However, on the basis of the context and the spirit of his work the following conclusions are possible: reduced mortality and birthrate are the essence of the demographic

transition. The drop in the birthrate either precedes or takes place alongside a drop in the mortality rate. The reasons for the conversion to a new type of reproduction behavior are based on socioeconomic changes. First to change are the material conditions and, on this basis, ideas and customs.

Rabinowicz expressed yet another fruitful idea. It is that demographic development is relatively independent; within the same production method different phases of demographic development may coexist. He cites as proof the following fact: during its period of establishment, capitalist society was characterized by a high birthrate. Contemporary capitalism, conversely, is experiencing a crisis, paralleled by a decline in the birthrate. Should this process continue, in the final account the growth of the population may come to a general stop, at which point a stage of demographic regress will occur. The contemporary period, Rabinowicz concludes, is "both a phase of economic and of a demographic transition." "We must add yet another to the large number of economic, social and intellectual problems of our time, which the present age will leave as legacy to future centuries, a problem which is most serious and most mysterious; the population problem." It is with these quite contemporary-sounding words that Rabinowicz ends his profound study.

According to Subrtova, the traces of Leon Rabinowicz are lost soon after the publication of the "Problem of the Population in France." Indeed, bibliographic references date his works on criminology. After 1934, however, no single article mentions his books. Yet in 1934 the scientist was no more than 28. He had worked quite fruitfully and in 7 years had written seven books and published 31 articles in periodicals and newspapers in Europe and Latin America. Assuming that he died in the 1930s, why is it that no obituaries or announcements of his death can be found in criminological publications? Such reports would have appeared mandatorily. For despite his youth, Rabinowicz was famous and had acquired a high scientific reputation. This is eloquently confirmed by the following facts: in the preface to his book "Murder from Jealousy" (1931) by Professor M.L. Cornil, Brussels Court of Appeals prosecutor, the author notes that "Leon Rabinowicz is one of our most interesting young criminologists" (at that time Rabinowicz was 25). One year previously, the scientist had published in Brussels his work "Contemporary Struggle Against Crime." It had been prefaced by Carton de Viart, the Belgian minister of internal affairs, and a letter of recommendation by Minister of Justice Paul Jenson. Briefly, whatever may have happened, such an author could not vanish from scientific literature without a trace.

Nor did he. Everything turned out to be much simpler. The scientist had changed his last name. In 1984 Rabinowicz became Radzinovich. It was under this name that he worked long and fruitfully in science. To this day the works of Leon Radzinovich are quite familiar to criminologists.

Apparently the reasons for the name change were strictly personal, for they are not found in any literary source. The very fact of name change is not reported. It is only in the book by Polish criminologist E. Janiszewska-Talago "Anthropological School of Criminal Law in Poland," that we find a brief remark as follows: "A scientist who represented the full theory of the anthropological school appeared in the 1930s. This was Warsaw University docent Dr. Leon Radzinovich (who at that time was writing under the name of



Rabinowicz)" (6). The work also provides a thorough study of his works published in Poland in the 1930s. Janiszewska-Talago says nothing of the early research activities of the scientist. In another work (7) once again she indicates that L. Rabinowicz and L. Radzinovich are one and the same.

The name change adversely affected the completeness of the bibliography of the works of Leon Rabinowicz-Radzinovich. Thus, the French and French-speaking Belgian criminological literature includes essentially references to early works, i.e., the works of L. Rabinowicz, while the works of L. Radzinovich, written in English, are rarely mentioned. The opposite prevails in Anglo-American sources. Typically, in neither case are the works of this scientist published in Polish cited. Some books include references to L. Rabinowicz and L. Radzinovich without indicating that they apply to the same person (see, for example, 8, pp 19, 208, 357).

We believe that it would be of interest to study the scientific biography of Leon Rabinowicz-Radzinovich. Here is a brief reference: he was born on 15 August 1906. He studied in Paris in 1924-1925. In 1927 he graduated as doctor of law in Geneva; in 1928 he graduated from the criminological institute in Rome and, in 1929, in Krakow. In 1928-1931 he was lecturer at Geneva University. He was a student and follower of the noted Italian criminologist and political personality Enrico Ferri (1856-1929). Clearly, it was under the influence of the latter that Rabinowicz became interested in Marxism, which was reflected in the book we mentioned.

He published his first article in 1928 in Italian (in Turin), in a collection of works dedicated to Ferri. This was followed by a flood of books and articles. In only 4 years (1928-1931) Rabinowicz published five monographs and several articles in Paris and Brussels, in French. In 1932 the scientist moved to Poland, where he became a law docent at Warsaw University (1932-1936). He was also a lecturer at the universities in Paris, Brussels and Strasbourg. As we pointed out, he changed his name in 1934. In 6 years (1932-1937) he published three books and eighteen articles in journals and six in newspapers. In 1937 the Polish Ministry of Justice assigned Rabinowicz to England to study the local prison system. He did not return to Poland. In England Radzinovich made a brilliant career. He began as professor at Cambridge and soon became prorector for scientific affairs. Between 1949 and 1959 he headed the department of criminology of the school of law. In 1960 Radzinovich founded the Criminological Institute in Cambridge, and became its director (remaining in that position until 1972). Here are a few further biographic facts: in 1973 he was the first British criminologist to be elected full member of the British Academy. That same year he was elected honorary foreign member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Australian Academy of Forensic Sciences. The library at the Criminological Institute of Cambridge University was named after Radzinovich (in his lifetime). Nevertheless the assignment of the Polish Ministry of Justice Radzinovich carried out: he wrote a definitive four-volume work "History of English Justice Since 1750." In addition to this huge study which, judging by an abundance of references to it, is considered almost a classic, the scientist published several more books and a number of articles. He was the editor of collections and well-known series of publications. The last of his articles I found in a bibliographic index was dated 1983. Against the

background of such extensive and fruitful scientific activities, the work on the theory of population, written in 1922, was, obviously, an accidental event for L. Rabinowicz-Radzinovich. The author himself rarely mentioned it. In any case, it is not included in a single bibliographic reference drafted under the scientist's personal guidance. Nevertheless, I would like to note, with Subrtova, that in its time this book was a very noteworthy scientific event. It was not inferior and, in many aspects, was even superior to Landry's monograph. It is difficult to understand why specialists have been unable to note the vivid and well-argued work by Rabinowicz. An answer to this question will possibly be forthcoming.

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## WHO NEEDS A SOCIOLOGIST?

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(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 214-215

[Letter to the editors by I.Yu. Markeyev, Karaganda]

[Text] Dear editors: for more than 5 years I have been interested in the work of my colleagues--plant sociologists. Unfortunately, there are very few of them. Yet it is a question of Karaganda, which is Kazakhstan's industrial center. In recent years the number of plant sociologists has even declined. In some enterprises the sociological service consists of one or two people. Even if all plant sociologists were to be gathered together, no fully staffed subunit would be the result.

The lack of clear ideas concerning the possibilities of sociologists leads to the fact that the main trend in the work of the sociological service consists of a traditional problem such as, for example, cadre turnover or the moral and psychological climate. In the former case, year after year the sociologist studies the same problem, gradually becoming an appendix to the cadre department; in the latter, he is unsuccessfully trying to provide psychological comfort with the help of social matrixes determining the formal and informal leaders and outsiders and suggesting insignificant reorganizations in the collective.

Naturally, sociological specialization is necessary. However, it must be planned and substantiated. It is necessary to select the most topical problem the solution of which will yield the greatest possible results. We share the viewpoint of sociologists at the Makeyevka Metallurgical Plant imeni S.M. Kirov, who suggest that "studies of a double nature be conducted. First, make a study of major social problems affecting the social development of the entire collective. Second, engage in quick studies the purpose of which would be to solve current problems which arise at individual production sectors" (1).

The problem of technical reconstruction, followed by modernization, production intensification and, finally, perfecting labor conditions, is topical in many industrial enterprises. Therefore, solving the problems of technical reconstruction is related not only to economic but to social results as well.



The latter, however, will become more significant if it enjoys sociological support.

Aware of the great difficulty of solving the problem of increasing the number of sociologists, let us suggest a temporary (2 to 3 years) compromise method for the creation of sociological services on the basis of contracts with VUZs. The main prerequisite for such contracts would be the permanent employment of four or five full-time members of a scientific research group directly at the enterprise. At that point the results of their activities would become apparent and the enterprise and ministry managements would set up a permanent regular plant sociological service.

The following is necessary in order to develop plant sociology: creating new and expanding existing sociological services at the largest industrial enterprises; organizing the professional training of plant sociologists and broadening their creative contacts with leading specialists in the area of industrial sociology; improving sociological training of enterprise managers. This calls for the legal definition of the status and size of personnel of the plant sociological service based on personnel tables of organization (2).

There is yet another aspect of this problem. It appears that sociologists are not needed everywhere. "We do not need a sociologist," we read, for example, a statement by V.A. Ignatikov, deputy director in charge of economic affairs at the Karaganda Heating Equipment Plant. This was also probably the view of the management of the Karagandaugol Association management, which closed the position of the only sociologist they had, and of the Karaganda Karbid Production Association, where one of the two sociologists was laid off.

Yet if we look at any labor collective and analyze the dynamics of its development over the past 15 to 20 years, we would immediately realize that a manager who fails to see the connection between social, production and economic characteristics within the collective, who does not follow improvements in social conditions of activities of the working people, finds himself hopelessly behind contemporary requirements.

The work of sociologists is frequently discussed in the press. For example, we read in our republic newspaper LENINSKAYA SMENA that "today the fashion is to have sociologists. All VUZs or plants would like to have one for the sake of prestige" (3). Alas, this is by no means the case of all VUZs, not to mention plants. I fully share the view of L.L. Sysoyeva, who emphasizes that "the appearance of plant sociological services is not the result of fashion but an objective need on the functional level, oriented toward the study of the enterprise in its integrality, overall functionality and specific nature and the ability properly to develop programs for sociomanagerial changes and to assist in their implementation" (4). It is with these accurate words that I would like to end this letter to the editors, for this is something that I am obviously not alone in being concerned with.

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#### WHAT LITERARY WORKERS SHOULD WORK ON...

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 215-217

[Letter to the editors by B.G. Borisov, Moscow]

[Text] In its "Scientific Publicism" section, the journal raised topical problems of strengthening the family. I am referring to the article by Yu.N. Davydov, "Family and Passion" (No 3, 1985) and that by A.G. Vishnevskiy "Passion and Marriage" (No 2, 1986). Despite some differences, both authors are concerned by an adverse situation prevailing in the area of family relations and seek the reasons for it in order to improve the situation. The article by Yu.N. Davydov offers the most concrete diagnosis of the problem. It is especially noteworthy for its profoundly substantiated and uncompromising belief in the responsibility of fiction, the so-called "forty-year old prose" in particular, for the weakening of the family.

It is true that in recent years a number of works of fiction have come out dealing with a variety of aspects of extramarital love. This includes an open apology of such relationships as found in Ye. Yevtushenko's poem "Accidental Relations," and a description of the difficult relationship between a husband and wife, many of which have been published in the aftermath of the novel "Possibility of Choice" by Aimee Beckman, the science fiction forecast of the breakdown of the family in the novel "In the Kingdom of Women" by H. Hellat and the mythological demoniacal extramarital passion in the stories of Arvo Valton and many other artistic variations of the notorious theory of the "cup of water," which V.I. Lenin criticized.

Similarly, many modern writers who discuss family and, in general, love topics, forget L. Tolstoy's requirements of literature: "1. The proper, i.e., the moral attitude of the author toward the subject; 2. The clarity of presentation or beauty of form, which is one and the same; 3. Sincerity, i.e., the frankly expressed feeling of love or hatred of that which is depicted" (1). How else can we explain the fact that L. Zhukhovitskiy, who shows little concern for proof, persistently argues in favor of quite controversial views. In his book "No One is Born Happy," he writes that "if all brides of today, being strict and serious, fail to change their feelings, do not sin against morality and the honor of maidenhood, we would no longer have to worry about 40 percent of the dignity of women: they would go through life without either



finding love or giving birth to a child.... What is to be done if the "grooms" remain faithful, for we are as yet unable to eliminate the scarcity of such people" (2). Yet statistical figures prove that, as a whole, the number of young men throughout the country is virtually the same as that of young women and that whereas in some places there may be a local scarcity of "grooms" in other places there is an equal scarcity of "brides." Writing in SMENA, the youth journal (3) L. Zhukhovitskiy tries to prove that a girl who lives alone is happier than her married friends, for the family is nothing but a "mark of prestige," like owning a book in Japanese by someone who does not speak a word of Japanese. Allegedly, the single person is more useful to society. Professionally, he is more successful, better educated, more well-wishing, and more independent on external circumstances, whereas marriage poisons life....

Let us point out that the motion pictures, the theater and the mass information media are not trailing too far behind the writers in poeticizing adultery and extramarital love. Let us remember, for example, the motion picture "Autumn Marathon," crowded with scenes of love passion of a doubtful "bed-oriented" nature, to use Yu.N. Davydov's expression.

Yu.N. Davydov has formulated clearly the task of "decisively asserting...the value of marital love"... "after a lengthy period of mocking and debunking it." We must point out that this is an overall long-term objective of our demographic policy and propaganda. This entrusts major assignments to the social scientists. Yet many literary workers, as "teachers" and spiritual tutors and guides of the readers, are themselves lacking clear moral criteria in assessing the "sexual revolution," adultery, family life and love passions in general. Moral views do not develop by themselves but under the influence of social science, sanctified by the halo of true science. What distinguishes the morality preached, for example, by ethicist A. Guseynov (4) from the one promoted by L. Zhukhovitskiy? It is that same "cup of water" morality.

A. Guseynov writes: "Until recently there were and, perhaps, there still may be virgins who would do anything to preserve their virginity--this characteristic gateway to the "paradise" of family relations. To them, marriage is the final obstacle, after which one could take out of life all that one can. The practice of premarital sexual relations which, however assessed, to a certain extent marks some progress, has become widespread: it has discredited the concept of virginity in the sense invested in it in the age of private-ownership monogamy. That which on the surface may seem a decline in mores is, in fact, their improvement (ibid., p 36). As Mayakovskiy said, "he frequently told her the same thing: protecting one's virginity is horrible philistinism" (5). In this case the poet was arguing against contemporary efforts to lay a theoretical base under the aspiration of those who wreck the family. Academician V.M. Bekhterev angrily wrote about "spoilors" who try to develop as a standard of life a situation in which "man deprives himself, to one extent or another, of the possibility of carrying out the social assignment for which every future citizen must prepare himself" (6). In encouraging vulgarizing concepts of the gradual substitution of temporary cohabitation between men and women for a monogamous family, such "spoilors" reject the need for family upbringing. They claim that it is based on parental egotism which distorts the child. This concept was supported not only by theoreticians such as L. Sabsovich (7) but also by quite well known

philosophers. Vestiges of such concepts entered postwar society as well. Thus, as early as the 1960s Academician S.G. Strumilin had said that raising children in the family is "regressive" and a manifestation of the "egotistical love of the mother which can only harm the child," and that the state should assume full care of the education of children (8). A decade later, philosopher A.Ye. Furman claimed that "family education is as unproductive as household chores. With public upbringing, three capable people could accomplish more successfully the work of fifty people raising children in the family. All of this provides adequate grounds for the state to take all the necessary measures to convert family into public upbringing. Nurseries, kindergartens and boarding schools are the forms of social upbringing" (9). Agreeing with Furman, demographers V.P. Piskunov and V.S. Steshenko are trying to prove that it is precisely the total freedom of the family from concern for the education of children that is an efficient means of solving the birthrate problem (10). They write that the lowered number of children "does not necessarily mean that one should lower the pleasure and need for motherhood and fatherhood. It is not mandatory in the least for such splendid human (rather than animal) feelings to be satisfied only by having exclusively one's own children and only within one's own family (in its contemporary aspects). Unquestionably, new relations among people, free from the vestiges of a class system, would open the possibility of the real satisfaction of such feelings not only for one's own children" (ibid.). This is as may be, but if everyone learns to love not one's own children, would this not lead to an impoverishment, an emasculation of the feeling of parental love and responsibility in general?

A. Tarasov writes: "Sociologists have been amazed to detect a new (and, from the demographic point of view, alarming) trend: an increasing number of cases in which the existence of children adversely affects the stability of the marriage while the absence of children strengthens the family!" (11). Let us leave the author to cope with his conscience when he refers to nameless sociologists, for any type of serious study has confirmed that it is precisely children who strengthen the family.

Briefly, a situation similar to one of Krylov's fables has developed: should the literary workers not begin by dealing with themselves? For all the claims of the social scientists we mentioned could confuse not only literary workers. They could develop doubts even among scientists who especially deal with problems of the family, not to speak of less knowledgeable people. This would be particularly harmful to the upbringing of young people who read about the inevitable withering away of the family, the progressive nature of adultery and premarital relations without finding anywhere proper support for an accurate orientation in complex matters. The course on "Ethics and Psychology of Family Life," taught in the senior classes of secondary schools, PTU and technical schools is of no great help in this case, for this experimental textbook for teachers totally avoids the problems raised in the article of Yu.N. Davydov. The threat exists that many teachers will be unable to provide a convincing defense of the family faced with the pressure of senior classmen who have read "modern" authors. This would include social scientists whose works are not distinguished by any particular clarity in the formulation of difficult and vitally important problems. Incidentally, even the debate originated by A.G. Vishnevskiy and Yu.N. Davydov leaves a loophole for denying

the value of the family. In promoting the thought of the meaninglessness of a marriage without love, A.G. Vishnevskiy by no means eliminates sex from the latter, allowing it the possibility of "growing to the point of great love," which allows us to hope that adultery will be "institutionalized" reaching the quality of love as a value.

We believe that, considering the major importance of the problems raised in Yu.N. Davydov's article, their discussion should be continued.

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## SOCIAL INSTRUCTION TO THE RESEARCHER

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) pp 218

[Letter to the editors by Daniil Granin, Leningrad]

[Text] The great deal of letters to the editors include a great deal of advice to professional sociologists on the problems they should deal with. Many of those letters start with the words "had I been a sociologist..." Obviously, the familiar initiative launched by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has become profoundly rooted in the minds of the people.

We published an initial selection of such letters in our previous issue, under the overall title "Social Order to the Research." This was noted by the readers and the number of letter expressing wishes increased. Our old correspondent from Donetsk, V.A. Zatsarenskiy, recommended to the journal to be more active in this sense and to turn to competent and interested people and to determine the hopes they have for the science of sociology. The editors followed this advice. Following is the answer by D.A. Granin, answering the question of a correspondent entitled "What Problem Do You Consider Most Topical to the Researcher-Sociologist?"

In the past, whenever we had a free evening, we went to see a movie or to the theater, but most frequently took up a book. Today, old and young, spend hours looking at the television screen and although more and more books are being published, less and less time is left to read them. Furthermore, the circle of readers is narrowing. People frequently would ignore serious publications in favor of entertainment reading, and the books which they purchase (there was a time when we were proud of the number of books we sold and a book "boom" was considered an indicator of high standards), become dead weight on shelves. Another clear fact which may be noted even by untrained sociologists is that some books have no customers. The tie between the interests of the readers and consumer demand has been broken entirely. In this case as well we need a sociological study of reading habits, which today must become one of the main elements of spiritual life.

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#### HEADINGS OF FUTURE ARTICLES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) p 218

[Text] Generational Social Shifts (results of an All-Union Study).

Sociological essays by Olga Chaykovskaya, Yuriy Shchekochikhin, Anatoliy Rubinov, Vladimir Glotov and Yelena Tokareva.

The Demographic Situation and Its Reflection in the Demographic Dictionary.

Results of the Study of the Musical Taste of Soviet Youth.

Mathematical Methods in the Arsenal of the Sociologist.

Estonian Birthrates in Three Centuries.

Interconnection Between Sociological Knowledge and Social Practice.

Efficient Utilization of Family Labor Resources (Analysis of Social Practice and Theoretical Elaborations).

Form of Question and Interpretation of Respondent Answers.

Problem of Choice of Language in Sociological Investigation.

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## CHRONICLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
(signed to press 29 Jul 86) p 224

[By M.A. Maksimov]

[Text] Meetings by senior associate of this journal M.A. Manuilskiy with sociologists of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History and Tartu State University dealt with current and long-term tasks of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. The readers, who gave a positive assessment to the current trend followed by the journal, also expressed a number of critical remarks and suggestions. They emphasized that more information should be provided and that the journal must increase its coordinating role and pay greater attention to theoretical developments, above all to problems such as sociocultural processes and social economic and scientific factors. A stricter attitude must be displayed toward the methodical and, particularly, mathematical support of studies. The experience of foreign sociologists must be covered more extensively. There must be more frequent interdisciplinary round-table discussions among editorial boards; new authors and specialists from areas related to the social sciences must be recruited more actively. Direct exchange of views with readers will help to earmark measures aimed at improving the work of the editors. The implementation of these remarks has already begun in the present issue.

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## THE FAMILY IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE EAST

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[Review by G.A. Zaikina of the book "Semya v Razvivayushchikhsya Stranakh Vostoka," by T.F. Sivertseva. Sociodemographic study. Nauka, Moscow, 1985, 165 pp]

[Text] The accelerated growth of the population in some parts of the earth is a global problem. Such growth is historically unprecedented. This applies primarily to the agrarian developing countries, where it entails a variety of adverse consequences. The problem of their prevention is mainly one of the efficiency of control of demographic processes. The experience gained in implementing a demographic policy in Asia and, particularly, the failure of some programs proves the impossibility of attaining the desired result--controlled and significantly lowered birthrate--without understanding the place and role of the family in the social structures of Oriental countries, knowledge of the trends in its changes and the interconnection between them and demographic processes. Nonetheless, such problems are being insufficiently discussed in Soviet and foreign publications.

The author of this book set herself a difficult task. In undertaking the study of such a relatively ignored problem, she did not limit herself to a specific country but tried to depict the overall situation and to describe the direction of the trends which characterize the development of the family in the Orient. In this she was bound to encounter many difficulties related to the need to identify common trends concealed behind an inordinate variety of real economic and sociocultural conditions prevailing in the various countries in the area. Equally difficult was the summation of empirical data, due to the extent of the statistical materials, on the one hand, and the obvious insufficiency of sociological information, on the other. It is precisely this which, in our view predetermined both the qualities and faults of this work.

In what direction will marital and family relations in Asian countries change? Will the Oriental families follow the path of European families and how specific will their development be? These are rather meaningful questions, the answers to which will depend, among others, on the strategy of governmental policy and which for the time being, remain arguable. The view held by T.F. Sivertseva sounds convincing: although acknowledging the

fundamental influence of socioeconomic factors on demographic changes, she nevertheless points out the profound originality of such processes in the developing countries, manifested in the interaction between modernization and the traditional elements of the social structure. In her opinion, the result is that "first of all, to one extent or another, socioeconomic and sociopolitical institutions will acquire the features of a large family institution and reproduce the structure of said institution; on the other hand it is thus that the standards of the large family will be preserved within the culture as a whole, and it is precisely this phenomenon which, under favorable circumstances, could exert the opposite influence on the process of family dislocation" (p 11).

In accordance with established views, the Oriental family is large and complex. It includes several generations and frequently several married couples. It has a patriarchal structure in which the roles of its members are clearly delineated. The picture of the Western family is associated above all with features, such as nuclear structure, equalitarianism, intimate intrafamily relations, and interchangeability between spouses. The extent of the nuclearization of the family is usually used as an integral indicator of the level of modernization of marital-family relations. Indeed, the share of the expanded families is several times higher in the developing than the European countries. It is equally true that as economic and social life in the Orient becomes "modernized," the percentage of such families gradually diminishes. However, as the data presented in the book under review convincingly prove, the accepted opinion notwithstanding, the overwhelming majority of families in the developing countries are nuclear (p 36), precisely as they were 30 years ago. Therefore, the existence of the nuclearization process in itself does little to clarify the question of the specific nature of the Asian family and its future.

Differences between the Western and Eastern family, particularly in its nuclear form, are most clear in the extent to which it is part of the system of relations among relatives: the former enjoys significantly greater autonomy. The wellbeing of the latter, even under conditions of economic autonomy, is more the result of the successful interaction with the family group. Families of the same type placed under different sociocultural conditions will act differently and, therefore, will not fully perform their social functions. Clearly, we must agree with the author's claim that the transition from expanded to nuclear family is not the same as the dynamics of family changes in general and that inflating the importance of this trend reduces the cognitive possibilities of the researcher.

The aspiration to identify the specific features of the Asian family and the characteristics of ties between socioeconomic and demographic processes in the area and, on this basis, indicate why economic and social changes frequently lead to unexpected consequences (in any case from the viewpoint of Eurocentrically oriented scientists and practical workers) may be sensed throughout the book. An interesting example of this fact is the seemingly paradoxical phenomenon of the preservation of the patriarchal family with its typical demographic behavior, including a high birthrate, under conditions of intensive urbanization. "The traditional institutions," the author believes, "are frequently reproduced as a defensive reaction to the accelerate pace of

development of contemporary socioeconomic life in the developing countries" (p 60), allowing recent migrants from the countryside to adapt to unaccustomed living conditions of a large city.

In considering problems of population reproduction, the author singles out two groups of factors which determine the birthrate level: socioeconomic and cultural. The former are considered as basic and the latter as an important intermediary link through which the social need for the birth of a certain number of children is concretized in the minds and behavior of the people. Clearly, such division is not absolute, even in theory. Classification is frequently difficult in the summation and analysis of extensive empirical data which contain information on the interconnection among a multiplicity of separate features. This is exemplified by a variable such as the population's education standard. Furthermore, as the author point out (p 67), one can speak of the influence of individual factors on the birthrate only in terms of the indirect influence which socioeconomic, cultural and other factors exert on said influence. The author classifies in the first group the overwhelming majority of traditionally studied birthrate factors and in the second, the ethnic and religious affiliation of the family and its type.

One of the chapters in the monograph deals with problems of demographic policy or, more specifically, with that part of it which applies to family planning. As we know, many difficulties appear in the implementation of corresponding programs in the developing countries, caused by the fact that the broad masses are still unprepared to accept new models of reproduction behavior. The global demographic changes which take place in the East are different from those in the Western countries, and the socioeconomic conditions which prevail there are not contributing for the time being to a mass and substantial lowering of the birthrate. We must furthermore take into consideration the inertial nature of demographic processes and the difficulty of changing traditional awareness, which does not react suddenly and immediately to changes in the economic and social areas. That is why actually the problem is to accomplish positive changes in the area of population reproduction before an actual base to this effect has been laid. Is this possible, and if it is, under what circumstances?

Unfortunately, the monograph does not provide a straight answer to the question. The author's view is complex: without denying the relevance of the implementation of a demographic policy in Asia, favoring the elaboration of sociopsychological aspects as a means of upgrading its efficiency and indicating the need for defining arguments in favor of reducing the number of children in some families, at the same time she claims that "the low popularity of the family planning program in the developing countries and the population's inertia in terms of using birth control devices are linked, above all, to the insufficient economic development of these countries and their unsolved social problems" (p 123). Yet the problem is, precisely, one of optimizing the demographic situation under the conditions of a backward economy, frequent cases of semipatriarchal relations and the prevalence of traditional orientations among the broad popular masses, thereby contributing to the solution of many vitally important regional problems. As E.R. Vyatkin justifiably point out, it would be erroneous to limit the use of a demographic policy only to countries and areas which have advanced relatively far on the



path of modernization. The experience of some Southeast Asian countries proves that a "thought-out demographic program suitably financed could bring results even under the conditions of a relatively backward primarily agrarian society" (1).

Obviously, because of a certain discrepancy in her views, the author has been unable to attain her objective completely: to substantiate the systematic consideration of sociopsychological factors in the formulation of a demographic policy in Asia. For the time being, it is only the prerequisites for such a policy that have been established. Unquestionably, however, the idea of a noneconomic analysis of this problem is productive.

This critical remark concerning a secondary theme should not be considered as applicable to the entire work which, as a whole is successful. The wealth of practical data, considered from a different angle, and the fact itself that the author has undertaken the study of a topical but relatively unstudied problem are unquestionable merits of this monograph. Naturally, some of the concepts formulated by T.F. Sivertseva are arguable and some of her conclusions are not supported by empirical data. This is natural, considering the relative poverty of statistical information and the small number of special studies of marital and family relations in the developing Eastern countries.

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#### CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN A SMALL TOWN. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 86  
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[Review by G.S. Michurin of the book "Uchrezhdeniya Kultury v Nebolshom Gorode i Naseleniye. Sotsialno-Demograficheskoye Issledovaniye" by Ya.S. Kapelyush, V.V. Sazonov and L.N. Fedotova]

[Text] The problem of surmounting socioterritorial differences in the living standards of the Soviet people is particularly urgent in the area of population cultural services. We know that the possibility of satisfying cultural requirements in the countryside and in small and medium-sized towns is significantly behind the average-union indicators which are shaped on the basis of the faster development of the cultural infrastructure of large towns. This gap, which is entirely explainable by certain sociohistorical circumstances, is related above all to the deployment of production forces in the large cities but is becoming today a major obstacle to the efficient social planning of regional development. Despite the increased level of income of the rural population, its migration to the cities is continuing. This is entirely natural, for no wage can compensate for the amenities of urban life. A certain "demonstrative effect exists as well:" the stereotypes of the high quality of life, demonstrated by mass information media (such as motion pictures), are framed by the lights of the big cities. It is precisely in the cities that we find concert halls, movie theaters, libraries, nicely dressed people in the streets and, in the final account, clean asphalted roads and anything else which falls under the concept of "culture." Nonetheless, the rural way of life has its advantages compared with the type of life in a big city. Furthermore, today the prime attention of party and soviet authorities is concentrated on the countryside, where substantial successes have been achieved in the development of its cultural infrastructure. However, a certain category of the population is deprived of the advantages of both the rural and the urban ways of life. Such people can be described as being urban residents but with some stipulations. These are people inhabiting cities whose population does not exceed 100,000. These, precisely, are the people discussed in the book under review, the relevance of which is based above all on the fact that, for the first time in Soviet sociology, the cultural life of small and medium-sized cities is described. Most of the latter are no longer villages but have not as yet become cities.

The work under review is of interest also because it provides not simply a picture of the cultural services offered here but also an analysis of the qualitative features of the interaction between cultural institutions and the potential target of their activities — the population of the small towns. In this connection, this book could be considered a step forward in the development of the sociology of culture as a relatively autonomous trend of research. Nor should we ignore the important circumstance that the basic concepts included in this work are the result of thoroughly selected and systematized empirical data, which include both indicators of statistical figures as well as results of representative population surveys. In our view, the representative nature of the selection, the methodical tools used and the study of the data are consistent with the highest criteria of sociological professionalism. The authors could be accused only of being excessively "loyal" to empirical data, for they are consistently dealing with figures, scrupulously and methodically explaining the resulting data. In the final account, the reader begins to lose an interest in objectively interesting information. However, we fully realize that such critical remarks are a matter of personal taste.

Let us now consider the content of the work and the basic problems, suggested solutions and new ideas. We can accurately claim that the clear formulation of the problems studied is a virtual guarantee of the success of this project. Here as well we see the high standard of the sociological knowledge of the authors. What are the demands, interests, and needs of men and women, young and old, workers and intellectuals in the cultural area? What does the "cultural offer" constitute in the small towns and to what extent is it consistent with extant "cultural demand?" What are the specific forms and scales of cultural activeness of the population depending on sociodemographic and other characteristics? How is the population of a small town distinct on this level from that of a large city or village? Is the province a place of life or a way of life? How is the problem of ensuring for the entire population equal access to cultural values in a small city solved? What depends here on the population itself and what depends on cultural institutions and agencies? Will tomorrow the cultural services offered to the population in small towns be better than they were yesterday or today? What should be done for such services to improve? Such is the range of questions raised in this work. Naturally, it would be erroneous to expect of the researchers a simple answer to such questions, although views on this nature may be found in the work. It is the very process of the study of cultural life in small cities, the arguments submitted by the authors, their views and, naturally, the suggested means of solving these problems that are of great value.

Despite the emphatically empirical emphasis of the book, it includes fruitful theoretical-methodological concepts which enable us to reinterpret contemporary trends of sociocultural development. For example, in the activities of cultural institutions and in the social sciences and the dissemination of problems of cultural development, the emphasis has been on educational and political-education work. The latter, as a rule, has been didactic. Characteristically, most projects carried out by houses of culture and clubs in the small towns are organized as "meetings," in which the role of speakers and audiences is clearly defined. In its time, when the level of



education and the social status of cultural workers was superior to the general educational and general cultural training of the "pupils," to a certain extent this situation was justified. At the present stage, however, it can only hinder the solution of the topical problems of cultural development. Let us consider the following fact alone: sporadic visitors of clubs and houses and palaces of culture account for nearly two-thirds of the total number of visitors. However, "sporadic visits take place mostly as a result of a special event. They are motivated not by the need to visit the club but by the fact that a particular event is taking place precisely in that club, such as a theatrical performance, a concert, a motion picture projection, or a ceremonious meeting" (pp 69-70). This means that a serious reorganization of the activities of cultural institutions is necessary, for today the passive forms of cultural consumption or, more specifically, the consumption of spiritual values are being imposed upon them. The main trend in the reorganization must follow the line of comprehensive development of cultural activities, not within the traditional "circle" or "dance and song" meaning of the term but as a cultural activeness developed by the population itself, organized with the help of cultural institutions. Unfortunately, the practical aspect of this problem has not been comprehensively covered in the book. The authors speak of the reorganization of the management of the cultural process within the framework of individual cities, the elimination of departmental barriers, coordination, etc. (p 154); in the final account, however, the mountain of empirical data has given birth to practical recommendations the size of a mouse. Actually, the same remark could be addressed to the majority of sociological studies of problems of culture. The authors of this book have proved empirically a very important albeit not entirely new concept: the fact that people are not a passive audience but must be active participants, "coauthors" of cultural activities. We believe, among others, that the following practical development of this concept would be quite fruitful: why not introduce self-governing clubs similar to cooperative associations? This, to say the least, would be a club in the true meaning of the word rather than an "office" which will record the overall number of visitors.

The overall conclusion is that sociologists of the Main Information-Computer Center of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture have made an interesting study, the results of which will be of use not only to specialists in sociology and demography but to practical workers as well.

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## SUBSTANTIATION OF SCIENTIFIC CONCLUSIONS IN APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

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[Review by V.B. Olshanskiy of the book "Obosnovanye Nauchnogo Vyvoda v Prikladnoy Sotsiologii," by G.S. Batygin. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 275 pp]

[Text] A situation may develop in science which leads to a revision of concepts which, only yesterday, appeared irrefutable. A short while back "the only scientific methodology" in our country was identified with dialectical and historical materialism. Today a prestigious publication notes "the error of identifying the philosophical with the specific-scientific levels of methodology" (2, p 367). This lowers the constructive role of dialectical materialism and, in the final account, harms science itself. This statement was signed by three authors known for their works in philosophy, the methodology of natural sciences, psychology and the systemic approach. Therefore, a necessary prerequisite for the development of all areas of knowledge is the elaboration of a specific scientific level of methodology based on dialectical and historical materialism. Naturally, this fully pertains to applied sociology.

Every year sociologists in our country engage in hundreds of empirical studies in the course of which no less than one million people are surveyed. However, according to the author of the book under review (an entirely realistic assessment) the "coefficient of utilization" of this collected information hardly exceeds 10 percent. As to information support of new developments, it is obvious that the usefulness in this case is significantly lower (p 241). The view according to which sociologists who collect and analyze data are engaged in the solution of practical problems is erroneous. We must agree with the author of this book that even plant sociologists "as a rule make use of rather superficial strata of the conceptual and methodical scientific apparatus -- the most widespread surveys and estimates of percentages -- leaving practical tasks as far from them as do "titled" learned men who engage exclusively in intellectual activities" (pp 209-210).

Why is it that measurements and information provided in tables showing different social indicators fail to yield new knowledge, which is so greatly necessary in practical terms? The author seeks the answer to this question by starting with an interpretation of the basic category of applied research: social indicators. He further discusses problems of methodological support of measuring procedures and conceptual analysis and, finally, ends with the formulation of practical recommendations.

The author of this monograph opposes naturalistic concepts regarding social indicators, proving that they cannot be identified with the natural properties of objects in the way in which a researcher would define external signals impartially, with the help of an "instrument." In G.S. Batygin's views, social indicators are the result of the interaction between scientific empirical studies and specific conceptual systems which have been consciously or subconsciously accepted by the researcher as "images of the world." If this is accurate, the reasons of the "stagnation" we noted in sociology may be found not only in the absence of new facts but in the inadequacy of theoretical and pre-theoretical concepts. It is precisely on the latter that the author directs his attention.

In this book the social indicator is presented as a logical-semantic structure included in the systematic description of the object. The area defined by this indicator covers social relationships, a systemic integrality which, in Marx's words, constitutes the "totality of human life" (1, p 119). Based on the works of the Marxist classics and Soviet philosophers, who explain the systemic principles governing Marxian theory and methodology, the author analyzes the double nature of the social indicator. It is thus that a theoretical base is laid in systematizing indicators in applied sociology.

The next problem discussed in this methodological analysis is the conversion from measuring procedures to conceptual conclusions. In empirical sociology said problem is usually related to operating with concepts, the so-called diagnostic procedure, which ensures the substantiation of the measurements. The latter hardly depends on the methodical regulation of the social diagnosis." It is predetermined by the methodical heuristic ("confused," "latent") recognition systems which, according to J. Bruner, "lie beyond the range of 'direct information'" (3).

The author of this monograph also "goes beyond the limit" of traditional methodical themes, claiming that the ordinary awareness of the researcher does not conflict with his scientific activities but, conversely, is organically included within them. Therefore, even rhetoric, not to mention literature and art (which have an unquestionable impact on the perception of the world by the researcher) substantially influence the structure of a scientific conclusion.

Unquestionably, the reader will be interested in the historical-sociological excursions taken into the problems of intermediary variables, models of rationality, understanding and interpretations. The author does not merely present the views of noted foreign sociologists but actively enters the debate by suggesting a Marxist solution to a number of problems. Thus, in criticizing the Hempel-Oppenheim system, he refers to the Landberg and McGuiver polemics. The result is a conclusion that a pragmatic model of functionality is not a universally significant ("ideal") system of scientific activities but a historically defined cultural phenomenon. Going beyond the limits of specific types of rationality triggered by the Marxist interpretation of "understanding," which means, according to the author, not merely the ability to look at the world "from the side" of sociological measurements but also to realize and implement the responsibility of the sociologist is the latter's ethical purpose. As we may see, a methodological problem develops into an ethical one.



The reader will be probably be particularly interested in the chapter in which practical recommendations are substantiated. Based on empirical studies, it could be fully used as a textbook for sociologists working in the national economy. The procedure suggested by the author for the application of recommendations appears quite convenient, reliable and economical. What distinguishes it mainly from similar methodical developments in the area of social planning is its orientation not toward empirical information (however interesting it might be!) but toward the formulation of new concepts. It is not excluded that said procedure may become an important element in social engineering, the need for which the author emphasizes.

A characteristic feature of this monograph is that it concentrates on unsolved problems which previously (possibly by virtue of their complexity) were ignored by sociologists. Suffice it to describe "topics" such as analytical transformations of separate and combined indicators, functions of intermediary variables and their connection with diagnostic procedures; reification of observations, operational definitions and "principles of complementarity." I must point out that said discussion "on the principle of complementarity", in the light of the latest achievements in the science of methodology, could be given a new, a more constructive content, and the author properly draws our attention to this circumstance.

Many of the solutions offered in the book are arguable. This is entirely consistent with the author's intention and his quite deliberate aspiration to avoid what is universally known and trivial, concentrating above all on the difficulties which the sociologist encounters in his daily work. We can say that G.S. Batygin deliberately concentrates on "ignorance." "The aspiration to turn upside down the process of sociological research and to find within it overt or covert admissions, conventionalities and reexaminations and to prove the epistemological conflicts is fraught with the risk of entering the recently opened broad highway leading from 'nonprofessional competence' to 'professional incompetence'" (P. Feuerbend). This risk, however, is justified, the author believes. It may seem that his position is extremely skeptical. We believe that in recent decades the extensive development of sociological research has advanced in our country so far that it makes sense to "stop and look back" and consider what applied sociology can and cannot accomplish... "It is not excluded that upgrading the efficiency and quality of sociological research and its orientation toward the solution of topical problems of building socialism depend to a greater extent on the awareness of the heuristic limitations of science rather than the unrestrained enthusiasm of the dilettante?" (p 16), a view worthy of support and approval.

The author quite harshly criticizes empiricism in sociology and develops quite a definite approach to the methodology of sociological research which could be described as "paradigmatic." It is precisely at this point that we find the weak aspects of the author's views. In developing the so-called "Kuhn-Feuerbend thesis" of the theoretical load carried by experimentation and proving the doubtful nature of the "paradigm" adopted in applied sociology, G.S. Batygin ignores Kuhn's warning that "rejecting the paradigm, without replacing it with something else, means rejecting science in general" (4, p 412). It is quite obvious that he intends to seek a solution in artistic literature and we cannot argue with the arguments he presents. The forms of

social consciousness are closely interrelated and the "spirit of the age" is embodied most emphatically in art. Occasionally a work of literature opens the eyes of the sociologist and the economist (here is a typical example: having read the article by journalist N.K. Maksimova "The Brigade on the Crossroads" in the journal EKO (5), I realized that the popularity of the presentation of the problem and the thoughts were not alternative choices but two interrelated aspects of the skill of the researcher). In my view, however, we should not confuse the scientific-sociological with artistic knowledge. Furthermore, nor should we engage in a comparison between them. The very formulation of the problem of "what is better"—science or art—is false. The matter lies elsewhere: in the extent to which nonlogical components of knowledge are inherent in sociological research. In the concept of the scientific conclusion, as suggested by G.S. Batygin, the "unclear" knowledge is considered not as an unknowing but inevitable "static" but as a specific feature of sociological thinking.

It seems to me that the historical-sociological analysis skillfully applied by G.S. Batygin to the solution of methodological problems could be extended also to the interpretation of the present condition of applied sociology. The author properly notes that scientific activities do not take place in a world of "pure" ideas but are a form of interested attitude toward reality. This idea leads us to raise the question of the social order issued to the sociologist and the possibility of implementing it. Yet the author has strayed from this problem. Although we cannot criticize the book for the fact that it does not provide an answer, the question of the implementation of the social order of the sociologist is, precisely, the type of "absence" for which we can rightfully criticize the author who has selected as his topic that of substantiating the scientific conclusion in applied sociology.

The senior generation of sociologists well remembers the tempestuous enthusiasm with which the initial specific studies of the 1960's was welcomed. The very word "specific" was pitted against the word "abstract," and the term "research" meant a search for the solution of real problems of our life, the study of facts rather than the rehashing of quotations. It is precisely in this status of social consciousness that we should seek the roots of the sociological stereotypes described in the book (p 209) and the expectations concerning sociology. Many of the expectations of the past were not met. The book under review reflects to a certain extent the resulting disappointment. This confirms the accuracy of the idea expressed by the author on the influence of the concepts of mass awareness on the professional thinking of the sociologist. However, I totally reject the explanation of the reasons for "stagnation" in applied sociology as being exclusively the result of methodological underdevelopments. Although quite important, this is only one aspect of the matter. The other is the nature of the specific historical situation which developed in our country and which was discussed with Leninist principle-mindedness and directness at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The extensive development of sociological research was determined by a certain system of social relations which did not orient specialists toward achieving end results. The ordinary sociologists sought the easy way to obtaining scientific degrees while their managers—at a plant or institute—tried to report results on the basis of formal or even fictitious indicators. The

deviation from traditional systems threatened the collapse of careers and however unattainable, such ideas began to be seriously interpreted as "methodological," i.e., as substantiated and sensible. Such were the social reasons which, in my view, determined the contemporary condition of theoretical and applied sociology.

G.S. Batygin wrote his book before the implementation of the course earmarked at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum but the work was published after the 27th Party Congress. To a certain extent this determines both the qualities and the shortcomings of the author's considerations. The main value of the book is that G.S. Batygin tried to expose methodological errors and prove that in applied sociology a scientific conclusion is based not on procedures of empirical analysis but on specific scientific methodology, professional competence, level of culture and, most importantly, the civic, the life stance of the sociologist.

Let us also note shortcomings in this book which, unlike those we have quoted, are, in our view, unquestionable. Today we are learning how to assess a study on the basis of end results. However, G.S. Batygin did not dare to provide a clear formulation of the results of his monograph. He ends it with a section significantly titled "In the Place of Conclusion." The author well understands that sociology has its "limits" (he quotes the familiar concept expressed by V.N. Shubkin). It seems to me, however, that he has been unable to set his own limits. This has been manifested, above all, in the choice of his material. The book is oversaturated with statements borrowed from foreign specialists, forgetting the fact that their names are unknown to the majority of the readers. All that is left for us is to accept such quotations out of the context of specific methodological concepts. Some of the terms are translated from English scientific terminology and the definitions of many of them are provided with great delays: for example, the author explains, more or less accurately, the difficulty between descriptor and prescriptor at the end of the corresponding chapter. One could say that excessive scientific terminology suppresses the author's thoughts which are difficult to follow. The precise opposite features are encountered in the book as well: a not always justified journalistic terminology. In some areas such terminology crosses the invisible border beyond which pretentiousness begins. Does a scientific monograph have to include the story of the gentleman who built a club which would blackball him? I believe that the text would not have suffered without this story. Furthermore, what makes the reading of this book exceptionally difficult is the lack of topic and name indicators.

Nevertheless, we are confident that this monograph will be of great use to the broad range of specialists interested in problems of the application of empirical methods in the social sciences. It will help us to surmount both the "nonprofessional competence" and the "professional incompetence" of sociologists and will have a positive influence on the quality of research. [Bibliographical references omitted]

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## SOCIETY, INDIVIDUAL, EDUCATION

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[Review by B. S. Arkhipov of the book: "Obshtestvo, Lichnost, Vuzpitaniye," by V. Vichev. Narodna Prosveta, Sofia, 1984, 286 pp. In Bulgarian]

[Text] In the period between the 12th and 13th congresses of the BCP the attention of Bulgarian social scientists was drawn on problems of perfecting socialism. Interest in this topic increased particularly following the publication of a cycle of lectures by Todor Zhivkov, under the overall title of "Problems and Experience in Building Mature Socialism in the NRB" (1), delivered to the students and teachers of the BCP Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management (1983-1984). During that time a series of works came out written by Bulgarian philosophers, sociologists and social psychologists, which comprehensively brought to light the significance of the fast pace of scientific and technical progress in terms of the building of socialism and defined the position of man in its implementation and analyzed the conditions under which an active individual is molded.

It is to such problems that the work of Vasil Vichev "Society, Individual, Education" (3) is dedicated. It is a monograph based on profound knowledge of the achievements of domestic and foreign science. The author studies most thoroughly the viewpoints of many dozens of authors and analyzes, agrees with or argues against or criticizes their scientific views and supports his own.

The book provides a profound study of social relations under socialism. It studies facts influencing the formulation of the aspirations, convictions and life stances of the individual and considers the significance of the various sciences in forecasting the development of the individual and the guidance of the educational process. The author analyzes the mechanism of the purposeful social impact on the individual as one of the most important factors in the social determination of the individual awareness. However, he justifiably points out that educational tasks are not limited to education or to the didactic instilling of one type of truth or another. They include the purposeful change of social relations.

The place and role of man in the system of social relations, the degree of his social activeness and his full participation in material and spiritual

production have always been indicators of the objective conditions and possibilities which a given society and civilization create in the development and implementation of the essential forces of man. The materials in the book under review convincingly prove that the motive forces, objectives, scale and criteria in the development of the individual should not be sought merely "within human nature," and outside of society and social influence. All laws and features of social relations are refracted in the social nature of man. Man's shaping and development is a process of mastery and reproduction of sociohistorical experience and achievements in material and spiritual culture. Man learns how to be a person by using the "second nature" created and developed by society, in accordance with the requirements of a specific social stratum or class. Human activities are implemented in the course of direct contacts with other people. The variety of forms of culture are the products of such activities.

As the author points out, education contributes to mastering historical experience. It is a necessary form of connection between the objective conditions for the existence of a social system and human activities. In expressing the real trends of social development, socialist upbringing, as a social phenomenon, implements the link between society not only with preceding activities but with future actions as well. In the course of building socialism, communist principles develop and strengthen and the shoots of new developments appear. The faster nature of communist upbringing reflects the requirements of the communist future, thus contributing to the conversion of man into an active fighter and bearer of new social relations.

In identifying the close link and interdependence between socialization and upbringing, the author indicates the fact that they are dissimilar in terms of form and content. Socialization means the involvement of the individual in social life, culture and implementation of various social roles. It can take place spontaneously as well, under the influence of social surroundings. Upbringing is always the influence of conscious, purposeful and predetermined ideological and psychological results. Its purpose, as the author accurately believes, is not to replace the objective influence (something which would contradict the basic principle of historical materialism concerning the determining role of social life), but invests in the chaotic process of this influence factors which favor the shaping of the necessary personality features needed by society.

Education, according to the author, should be such as to structure the type of "systems" within the overall psychological organization of the individual which would stimulate an active attitude toward the world and develop the unique potential of the individual. It should shape not individual static qualities (patriotism, industriousness, collectivism) but the inner logic of their development and functioning. Upbringing contributes to the shaping of "programming" features of the individual, the most important of which are the Marxist-Leninist outlook and communist morality.

The author especially emphasizes and, in our view, quite correctly, the exceptionally great importance of moral upbringing in shaping the new type of individual in building socialism and communism. We can only blame him for having insufficiently specifically "developed" this experience acquired this

area in the Bulgarian People's Republic, which would have been of particular interest to the Soviet reader. However, this is a fault of many books published in the socialist countries: the authors concentrate on general problems, ignoring the fact that their solution assumes particularly greater theoretical value when it is studied both in general and in accordance with the specific features of the given country.

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